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de ellos, y se vió reducida toda esta Expedicion, que se componia de mas de noventa Hombres á solo ocho Soldados, y otros tantos Marineros en estado de acudir al resguardo de los Buques, manejo de las Lanchas, Custodia del Real, y servicio de los Enfermos.

No havia noticia alguna de la Expedicion de Tierra, havianse registrado las inmediaciones del Puerto, buscando rastro de Caballada, pero no se descubrió ninguno, y no se sabia que pensar de su tardanza. Pero el dia catorce de Mayo los Indios dieron aviso á unos Soldados, que estaban en la Playa, que venian de la parte del Sur del Puerto unos Hombres Armados como ellos, y explicaban muy bien por señas, que venian montados en Caballos. Alegraronse todos con esta noticia, que se verificó de allí á poco avistandose la Gente, y la Requa del primer Trozo de la Expedicion de Tierra. Saludaronse mutuamente con festiva Salva de sus Armas, explicando despues con los brazos, y las voces su contento, que fue igual de una parte, y otra, porque todos esperaban hallar reciproco alivio en sus necesidades: [26]venia toda la Gente de Tierra, sin haver perdido un Hombre, ni traer un Enfermo, despues de una marcha de dos Meses, pero á media Racion, y sin mas Provisiones que tres Costales de Harina de que se les subministraban por toda Racion diaria dos Tortillas á cada Individuo. Descansaron aquel dia junto al Real de los Enfermos: surtieronse de bastimentos con que reparar sus fuerzas; y convinieron los Oficiales en transferir el Alojamiento cerca del Rio, lo que no se havia practicado antes, porque no pareció acertado dividir las pocas fuerzas con que se hallaban, empleadas al resguardo mutuo de los Buques, y de la Gente alojada en Tierra, atendiendo asimismo, á la mayor comodidad, y brevedad de los Transportes para no fatigar excesivamente á los que manejaban la Lancha, y á que la falta de Bestias de carga, precisaba llevar á hombros quanto se hechaba en la Playa.

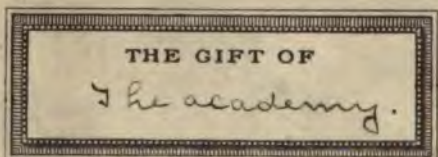
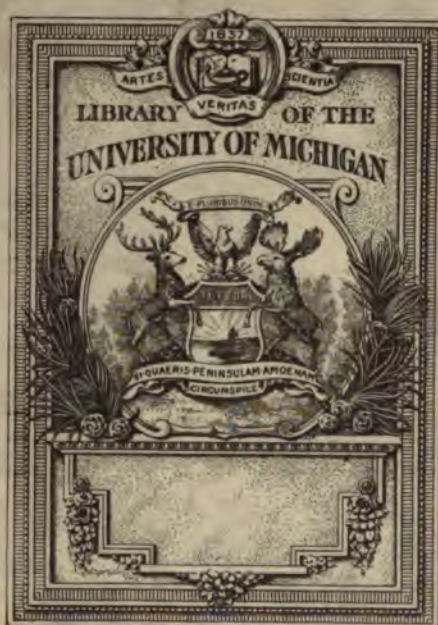
Mudaronse todos al nuevo Real, que se transfirió una legua mas al Norte á la derecha del Rio sobre una Loma de mediana altura, donde se pudo atender con mas cuidado á los Enfermos, que el Cirujano D. Pedro Prat, no dejaba un instante, y asistia

had been composed of more than ninety men, was reduced to only eight soldiers and as many sailors who were in a condition to assist in guarding the ships, handling the launches, protecting the camp, and waiting upon the sick.

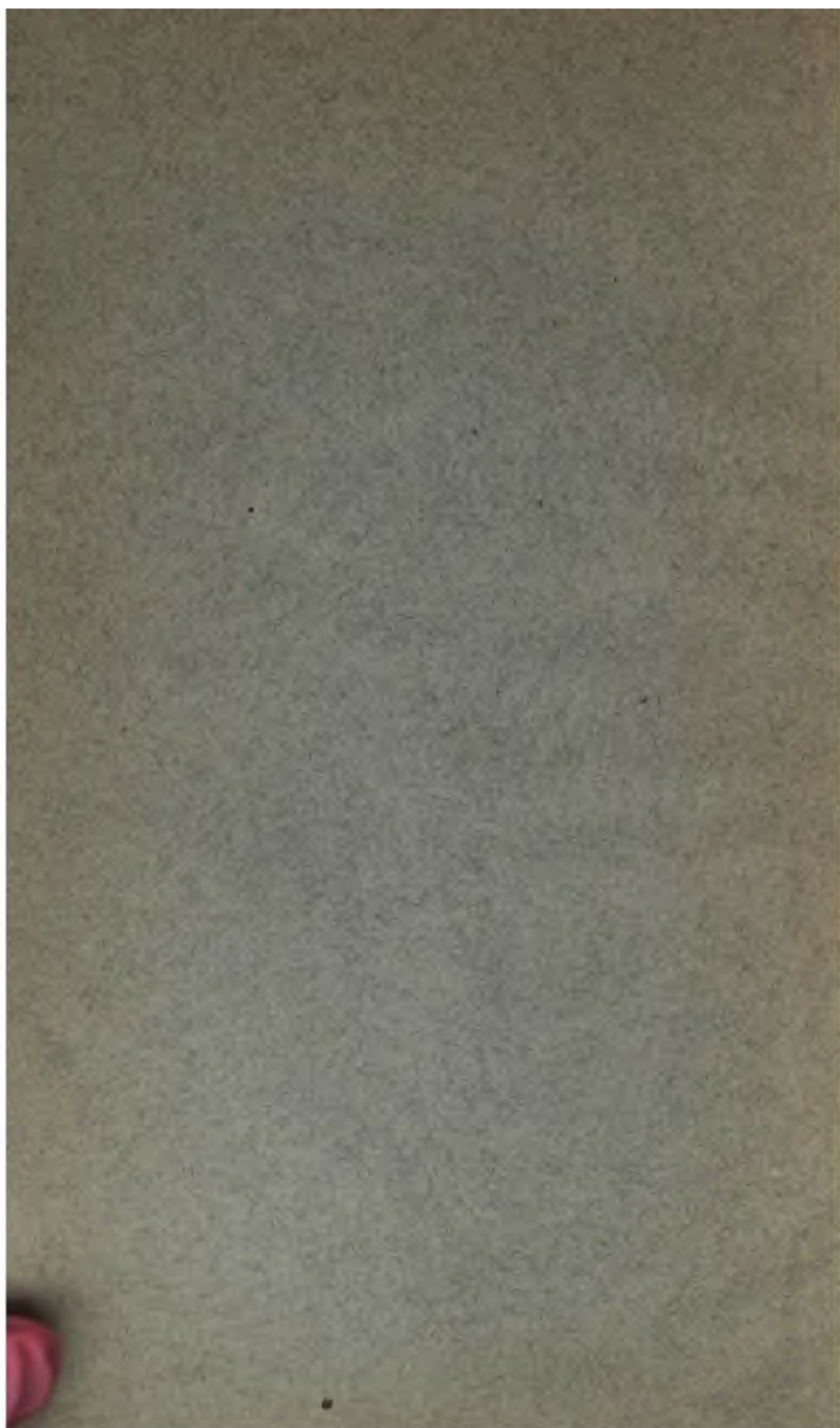
Nothing had [so far] been heard of the land-expedition. The neighborhood of the port had been examined in search of the tracks of the animals, but none were found, and no one knew what to think of the delay. On the 14th of May, however, the Indians informed some of the soldiers who were on the beach, that other similarly armed men were approaching from the south of the port, and explained very clearly by signs that they were mounted on horses. This news caused great rejoicing to all, and was soon found to be true, when the men and the pack-train of the first division of the land-expedition were sighted. They exchanged salutes by joyful volleys from their muskets, manifesting afterward their delight, which was as great on one side as on the other, by means of their arms and voices, as all hoped to find mutual relief from their wants. The whole land-expedition arrived without having lost a single man or even carrying one person sick after a journey of two months, although they were on half rations, and with no more provisions than three sacks of flour, of which each man received two cakes for his entire day's ration.

They rested on that day near the camp of the sick, and were supplied with food to recover their strength. The officers resolved to move the camp close to the river, which had not been done before because it was not deemed advisable to divide the small force they had for the protection at once of the vessels and of the people lodged on shore; at the same time, the greater convenience of a shorter distance for the transportation had to be taken into consideration, in order not to tire unduly the men who were handling the launch, as the want of beasts of burden obliged them to carry on their shoulders everything that was brought on shore.

All morning the new camp which was transferred one league further to the right bank of the river, on a hill of moderate height, was possible to attend with greater care to the sick, the surgeon, Don Pedro Prat, left at leave for a







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**ACADEMY OF
PACIFIC COAST HISTORY**

ACADEMY
OF
PACIFIC COAST HISTORY

PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME I

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA
1910

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE
ACADEMY OF PACIFIC COAST HISTORY

VOL. I

NO. 1

THE SAN FRANCISCO CLEARING
HOUSE CERTIFICATES
OF 1907-1908

By

CARL COPPING PLEHN

Professor of Finance, University of California

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA
JANUARY, 1909

Price 10 cents

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ARTICLE I.

The name of the Academy shall be the Academy of Pacific Coast History.

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Its object shall be the promotion of the study of the political, social, commercial and the industrial history, and of the ethnology, geography, and literature of the Pacific Coast of America, and the publication of monographs, historical documents, and other historical material relating thereto.

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The Regents of the University of California have entrusted the control and administration of the books and manuscripts collected by Mr. H. H. Bancroft and known as the Bancroft Collection, together with such other historical material as is already in their possession or may come into their possession, to the Council of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, on condition that the President of the University of California be, ex-officio, a member of the Council, that the Secretary of the Academy be appointed by the Regents, and that the names of members of the Council be submitted to the Regents for their approval.

ARTICLE IX.

Any person approved by the Council may become a Fellow of the Academy of Pacific Coast History upon the recommendation of two fellows and the payment of ten dollars; and after the first year may continue a fellow by paying an annual subscription of ten dollars in advance. On payment of one hundred dollars, any fellow may become a life-fellow exempt from further subscriptions.

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THE SAN FRANCISCO CLEARING HOUSE CERTIFICATES OF 1907-1908.

NOTE.—Through the courtesy of the San Francisco Clearing House, six complete specimen sets (cancelled) of the various forms and denominations of the Clearing House Certificates used in San Francisco during the recent financial stringency have been placed in the library of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, where they will be preserved for future reference. This memorandum is written to accompany the deposit and to provide a permanent record, for historical purposes, of the origin and use of the certificates and of the events of this interesting episode.

In October, 1907, the banks in San Francisco experienced great difficulty in securing coin to supply the needs of the community for circulation. This stringency was San Francisco's participation in the general stringency felt all over the United States, and, as it had no local origin or local peculiarities, need not be reviewed in this connection.

Two means of meeting this stringency and of avoiding dangerous results were applied. One was the device of "legal" and "special" holidays, declared by the Governor from day to day. The first "legal" holiday was October 31st, 1907, and the last was November 30th, 1907; these were declared under an old provision of the Political Code which empowers the Governor to declare any day a legal holiday. As these legal holidays interfered with certain proceedings of the courts and with business other than banking and finance, the legislature was called in special session, one of the main purposes of which was to devise a special kind of holiday which would apply only to the classes of business transactions affected by the stringency. The "special" holidays declared under the new statute began December 2nd, 1907 (December 1st having fallen on a Sunday) and the last one was December 21st, 1907. As to the exact legal effect of these holidays, "legal" and "special," there seems to be more or less

question, and some litigation thereover is now before the courts. The practical effect, however, was to create a general impression in the minds of bank depositors and with the public, that the banks could not be compelled to do business. This had been the opinion generally held as to the holidays after the great fire in San Francisco. Entrenched behind this view of the effect of the holidays and using them as an excuse, the banks throughout California, while open for business as usual, were enabled to stave off demands which might otherwise have embarrassed them or have depleted their reserves.

The other device was the issue of Clearing House certificates, both for use between the banks and for the use of the public generally. The latter use of this device presented peculiar difficulties in California, because the people are not accustomed to any kind of paper money.

The first step in this direction was the issuance of so-called "Loan Certificates" in large denominations (\$1,000, \$2,000, \$3,000, \$4,000, \$5,000, \$10,000 and \$20,000) for use between the banks and in making settlements through the Clearing House. The plan under which these were issued was practically identical with that under which similar certificates have been issued in New York and other cities during periods of stringency. The first of these certificates were issued October 29th, 1907, under the following agreement:

For the purpose of enabling the banks, members of the San Francisco Clearing House Association, to afford proper assistance to the business community, and also to facilitate inter-bank settlements resulting from the daily exchanges, we, the undersigned, do bind ourselves by the following agreement on the part of the respective banks, namely:

First—That a Clearing House Loan Committee of three, to be appointed for the purpose, be and it is hereby authorized to issue to any bank member of the Association, loan certificates bearing eight per cent. interest, on the deposit of bills receivable and other securities to such an amount and to such percentage thereof as may in its judgment be advisable. Provided that, in no case, shall certificates be issued for a greater amount than seventy-five per cent. of the market value of such securities; such market value to be determined by said Committee. These certificates may be used in settlement of balances at the Clearing House and they shall be received by creditor banks in the same proportion as they bear to the aggregate amount of the debtor balances paid at the Clearing House. The interest that shall accrue on such certificates shall be apportioned monthly among the banks which may have

held them during that period; the Committee to have the right, however, to apportion such interest at more frequent intervals.

Second—That the securities deposited with the said Committee shall be held in trust by it as a special deposit, pledged for the redemption of the certificates issued thereon, the same being accepted by the Committee as collateral security, with the express condition that neither the Clearing House Association, the Clearing House Loan Committee, nor any member thereof, shall be responsible for any loss on said collaterals, arising from failure to make demand or protest, or from any other neglect or omission concerning same, other than the refusal to take some reasonable step which the said depositing bank may have previously required in writing, and which step the Committee may deem to be fairly reasonable.

Third—That on the surrender of said certificates, or any of them by the depositing bank, the Committee will endorse the amount as a payment on the obligation of said bank, held by them, and will surrender a proportionate amount of securities, the character whereof shall be determined by the Committee, except in cases of default of the bank in any of its transactions through the Clearing House, in which case the securities will be applied by the Committee: first, to the payment of outstanding certificates with interest; next, to the liquidation of any indebtedness of such bank to the other banks, members of the Clearing House Association, and any expenses connected with the same.

Fourth—That the Committee shall be authorized to exchange any portion of said securities for others, to be approved by it, and shall have power to demand additional securities from the banks depositing same, at its own discretion.

Fifth—That the Clearing House Loan Committee shall be authorized to carry into full effect this agreement, with power to establish such rules and regulations for the practical working thereof as they may deem necessary, and any loss caused by the non-payment of loan certificates and all expenses incurred in carrying out this agreement, shall be assessed by the Committee upon all the banks in the ratio of the average daily amount which each bank shall have sent to the Clearing House during the preceding calendar year.

Sixth—That the Clearing House Loan Committee be and they are hereby authorized to terminate this agreement, upon giving thirty days' notice thereof to all the banks, members of the San Francisco Clearing House Association.

Seventh—That, upon the deposit of securities with the Clearing House Loan Committee and the receipt of loan certificates therefor, such bank shall execute and deliver an obligation in the following form:

The Bank has this day received of the Clearing House Loan Committee of the San Francisco Clearing House Association loan certificates issued by said Committee in pursuance of an agreement of the members of said Association, passed (which is made part hereof) to the amount of thousand dollars and has de-

posited with said Committee the securities, a statement whereof is hereto annexed; and said Bank has received said loan certificates on the terms set forth in said agreement, and agrees to pay the amount of said certificates with interest thereon, as provided in said agreement and in said certificates.

Eighth—That statements shall be made to the Clearing House Loan Committee of the condition of each bank, on the morning of each day, before the commencement of business, which shall be sent to the Chairman of the Clearing House Loan Committee, specifying the following items, namely:

1. Loans and discounts.
2. Bonds and securities.
3. Balances with other banks, subject to check.
4. Money on hand.
5. Deposits.
6. Loan certificates.

Ninth—This agreement shall be duly and regularly authorized and ratified by the respective banks belonging to the San Francisco Clearing House Association, and a certified copy of such authorization and ratification be delivered to the Chairman of the Clearing House Loan Committee.

The following is a photographic reproduction of one of the "Loan Certificates"; the text was the same for all the different denominations:

No. _____	\$20,000
LOAN COMMITTEE OF THE SAN FRANCISCO CLEARING HOUSE ASSOCIATION	
SAN FRANCISCO, _____ 1907	
<p><i>This Certifies that the</i> <i>has deposited with this Committee securities in accordance with the proceedings of</i> <i>a Meeting of the Association held October 25, 1907, upon which this Certificate is issued.</i> <i>This Certificate will be received in payment of balances at the Clearing House for the</i> <i>sum of Twenty Thousand Dollars from any member of the Clearing House Association.</i></p> <p><i>On the surrender of this Certificate by</i> <i>the depositing bank above named, the</i> <i>Committee will endorse the amount as a</i> <i>payment on the obligation of said bank</i> <i>held by them, and surrender a proportionate</i> <i>share of the collateral securities held there-</i> <i>for.</i></p> <p>\$20,000</p>	
	<div style="border-top: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black; height: 40px; width: 150px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 5px;">Committee</div>

The maximum issue of "Loan Certificates" occurred on December 24, 1907, when the amount outstanding was \$12,339,000.

Although the agreement as cited above permitted the issue of certificates up to 75 per cent. of the appraised value of the bills receivable and securities deposited, the Committee did not in

general authorize issues beyond from 50 per cent. to 60 per cent. of what it considered the sound value of the security offered.

The following table shows the issuance and redemptions of these certificates by weeks:

WEEKLY STATEMENT OF THE ISSUES AND REDEMPTIONS OF LOAN CERTIFICATES.

LOAN CERTIFICATES ISSUED.									
Week ending	\$1,000	\$2,000	\$3,000	\$5,000	\$10,000	\$20,000	\$30,000	Totals	
Nov. 6, 1907	\$269,000	\$388,000	\$240,000	\$1,510,000	\$2,110,000		\$1,560,000	\$6,077,000	
12	190,000	308,000	240,000	670,000	790,000		280,000	2,478,000	
19	55,000	40,000	165,000	365,000	580,000		420,000	1,625,000	
26	20,000	50,000	45,000	120,000	100,000		860,000	1,195,000	
Dec. 5	20,000			60,000	150,000		200,000	430,000	
12	20,000			30,000	50,000		300,000	400,000	
19				30,000	100,000		240,000	370,000	
26				50,000	110,000		180,000	340,000	
Feb. 29, 1908				45,000			80,000	125,000	
	\$574,000	\$786,000	\$690,000	\$2,880,000	\$3,990,000		\$4,120,000	\$13,040,000	
LOAN CERTIFICATES REDEEMED.									
Week ending	\$1,000	\$2,000	\$3,000	\$5,000	\$10,000	\$20,000	\$30,000	Totals	
Nov. 29, 1907	\$4,000	6,000	\$6,000	\$180,000	\$130,000		\$40,000	\$360,000	
Dec. 6	2,000	8,000		10,000	10,000		60,000	88,000	
13	1,000		3,000	10,000	80,000			102,000	
20				5,000	20,000			25,000	
27	1,000				90,000		100,000	191,000	
Jan. 3, 1908	4,000	12,000	9,000	15,000	10,000		260,000	310,000	
10	14,000	4,000	3,000	120,000	200,000		100,000	441,000	
17	19,000	20,000	6,000	20,000	500,000		1,140,000	1,705,000	
24	234,000	394,000	327,000	1,055,000	1,370,000		1,540,000	4,920,000	
31	116,000	108,000	147,000	435,000	450,000		280,000	1,536,000	
Feb. 7	43,000	160,000		105,000	20,000		120,000	448,000	
14	29,000			130,000	300,000		220,000	679,000	
21	29,000	10,000	111,000	250,000	570,000		100,000	1,070,000	
28				330,000	70,000		40,000	440,000	
March 5	61,000	56,000	78,000	85,000	130,000			410,000	
12	4,000			30,000			120,000	154,000	
19	4,000	6,000		5,000				15,000	
26				20,000				20,000	
April 7	2,000	2,000						4,000	
10	7,000				40,000			107,000	
	\$574,000	\$786,000	\$690,000	\$2,865,000	\$3,990,000		\$4,120,000	\$13,025,000	

To supply the need for an additional circulating medium in the hands of the public, scrip, consisting of Clearing House certificates of smaller denominations, was issued. In many respects this was a new departure in the functions of the Clearing House. The first of these certificates designated in the accompanying tables as "old issue" were in denominations of \$5, \$10, and \$20. (See Fig. 1, frontispiece.) They were first issued November 4, 1907, and, having been hurriedly prepared to meet an emergency, were without protective design in engraving, although printed on "protected" paper. A total of \$1,980,320 of these was issued.

These were replaced a week later by a new issue in denominations of \$1, \$2, \$5, \$10, and \$20. The new issue was protected on back as well as front with elaborate engraving. (See Fig. 2, frontispiece.)

Banks desiring this scrip deposited the interest bearing "loan certificates," above described, with the Clearing House Committee. Upon the return of the scrip or circulating certificates to the Committee the banks withdrew an equivalent amount of loan certificates which they could then present, if they so desired, for return of the original securities. Until that was done the interest charge continued.

These smaller certificates were first authorized under the following resolution passed by the Clearing House Association November 1, 1907:

Resolved, That the Loan Committee be authorized to issue to members of the Clearing House, Clearing House Certificates of Deposit in denominations of \$100 and less to a total amount of \$2,500,000 at such times as it may deem necessary; that such certificates of deposit shall be secured by the pledge of Loan Certificates issued under resolutions of the Clearing House adopted October 28, 1907; that same shall be signed by one facsimile and one written signature and that the issue shall be under such regulations as the Loan Committee may prescribe.

At a meeting of the same body held November 6, 1907, the following amendment to the resolution was passed:

Resolved, That the resolution adopted by the Clearing House Association at its meeting held November 1, 1907, authorizing the Clearing House Loan Committee to provide for the issue of Clearing House Certificates of Deposit be amended by removing the limit of \$2,500,000 on same. And further

Resolved, That should the Clearing House Loan Committee in its discre-

tion provide for the issue of Clearing House Certificates of Deposit in denominations of One Dollar and Two Dollars, such One Dollar and Two Dollar Certificates of Deposit shall only be signed in facsimile by the President and Secretary of the Clearing House Association.

No interest was charged directly on the circulating scrip, or certificates of smaller denominations; but to procure such scrip the several banks had to deposit Clearing House loan certificates with the Clearing House Loan Committee. The loan certificates so deposited continued, of course, to bear interest in favor of their holder; in this case in favor of the committee. The loan certificates and the circulating scrip were immediately convertible through the Loan Committee, one into the other, both ways. As the bank depositing loan certificates for scrip lost the interest it would otherwise have received on the loan certificates, there was a strong inducement for it to withdraw the scrip from circulation as fast as possible and redeem an equivalent amount of loan certificates. This tended to contract the scrip, which, whenever it became in any degree redundant, was presented to the Loan Committee in exchange for loan certificates. The interest earned on the certificates in the hands of the Loan Committee was used to defray the expenses of the committee, which were very heavy. The balance of net profit was afterwards divided among the banks in proportion to the amount of their clearings, which in as much as the certificates were accepted in payment of balance through the Clearing House was the actual basis of their guarantee of the various issues; and not in accordance with the amount of use made of the Clearing House certificates. This indirect interest charge was the cause of the prompt retirement of the scrip. For as long as any bank had scrip outstanding it bore the 8 per cent. interest charge thereon, less only its proportion of the relatively small sub-profit made by the committee. Banks using little scrip profited most. A member of the Clearing House Loan Committee writes: "The plan worked beautifully, the circulating scrip being driven in rapidly after the greatest tension was over." It should be added that the general aversion of the public in California to any kind of paper money, even to bank notes, treasury notes, and gold certificates, or to "currency" as it is commonly called to distinguish it from "money" or gold

and silver coin, aided greatly in the redemption of the scrip, which was returned to the banks as promptly as possible, together with other kinds of paper money which passed into circulation during the stringency.

The connection of the "scrip" with the "loan certificates," involving as it did an indirect interest charge for the use of the "scrip," is a new feature in the history of Clearing House certificates. Somewhat similar "scrip" was issued in Seattle, Portland, and Tacoma, but without relation to the loan certificates or other provision for retirement or conversion. This failure to provide for conversion, in the cities just named, caused some embarrassment from which the San Francisco banks were free. It is reported that some banks in those cities became embarrassed by a plethora of scrip and a dearth of loan certificates while others suffered from the reverse condition.

The smaller certificates circulated freely throughout California, Nevada, and Southeastern Oregon, some reaching as far east as Philadelphia and some as far west as the Hawaiian Islands. It is reported that one was returned from Berlin and several from China for redemption. In all, both "old" and "new," \$7,179,000 were issued.

The following tables show the issues by weeks:

OLD ISSUE ISSUED.

Week ending	\$5.00	\$10.00	\$20.00	Totals
Nov. 14, 1907	\$580,320	\$890,000	\$510,000	\$1,980,320
Totals	\$580,320	\$890,000	\$510,000	\$1,980,320

OLD ISSUE REDEEMED.

Week ending	\$5.00	\$10.00	\$20.00	Totals
Nov. 14, 1907	\$173,280	\$283,540	\$147,820	\$604,640
21	79,000	145,000	81,500	305,500
27	69,500	93,000	52,000	214,500
Dec. 5	55,000	73,500	44,000	172,500
12	53,000	71,000	45,000	169,000
19	26,000	38,000	26,000	90,000
26	15,500	25,000	10,000	50,500
Jan. 2, 1908	23,000	29,500	21,000	73,500
9	42,000	53,000	31,000	126,000
16	16,500	29,000	16,500	62,000
23	9,500	15,500	14,000	39,000
30	4,960	10,010	4,200	19,170
Feb. 6	3,770	6,940	4,740	15,450
13	3,270	7,170	3,700	14,140
20	2,575	4,020	3,640	10,235
27	815	1,340	700	2,855
March 5	415	1,320	760	2,495
12	205	880	240	1,325
19	400	430	200	1,030
26	235	330	260	825
April 3	190	330	60	580
7	35	10	40	85
Totals	\$579,150	\$888,820	\$507,360	\$1,975,330
Outstanding	\$1,170	\$1,180	\$2,640	\$4,990

NEW ISSUE ISSUED.						
Week ending	\$1.00	\$2.00	\$5.00	\$10.00	\$20.00	Totals
Nov. 14, 1907	\$357,000	\$52,000	\$1,157,320	\$1,160,000	\$780,000	\$3,506,320
21	167,000	68,000	442,500	532,500	90,000	1,300,000
28	124,500	28,000	332,500	145,000	170,000	800,000
Dec. 5	29,434	28,000	227,680	285,000	280,000	850,114
12	12,995		107,500	55,000	70,000	245,495
19			32,500	25,500	15,000	73,000
26			7,500			2,500
Jan. 2, 1908						7,500
Totals	\$690,929	\$176,000	\$2,310,000	\$2,203,000	\$1,405,000	\$6,784,929
NEW ISSUE REDEEMED.						
Week ending	\$1.00	\$2.00	\$5.00	\$10.00	\$20.00	Totals
Dec. 5, 1907	\$6,003	\$4,006	\$15	\$2,530	\$4,060	\$16,614
12	6,001		30,060			36,061
19	22,000	3,000	5,005	12,030		42,035
26	53,100	9,400	65,000	77,000	44,000	248,500
Jan. 2, 1908	89,400	23,000	400,000	370,000	154,000	1,036,400
9	152,200	38,800	700,500	661,500	407,000	1,960,000
16	210,900	58,600	540,000	451,000	312,000	1,572,500
23	69,700	17,800	270,000	274,500	185,000	817,000
30	30,619	7,648	116,410	122,660	100,060	377,397
Feb. 6	12,900	3,300	67,250	77,500	61,000	221,950
13	11,089	3,820	43,000	58,240	52,460	168,609
20	7,846	2,578	25,150	29,910	25,400	90,884
27	2,761	1,062	11,900	15,440	12,560	43,723
March 5	1,764	616	9,310	11,370	12,480	35,540
12	1,123	310	5,385	7,890	7,440	22,148
19	1,069	374	3,475	4,820	3,400	13,138
26	720	156	3,305	6,020	3,960	14,161
April 3	1,538	412	1,925	4,490	4,760	13,125
7	123	22	745	520	840	2,250
Totals	\$680,856	\$174,904	\$2,298,435	\$2,187,420	\$1,390,420	\$6,732,035
Outstanding ..	\$10,073	\$1,096	\$11,565	\$15,580	\$14,580	\$52,894

It is reported that the remaining certificates outstanding are coming in slowly for redemption. To overcome the tendency to hold these as souvenirs the Clearing House has arranged to exchange them for certificates that have been cancelled.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE
ACADEMY OF PACIFIC COAST HISTORY

VOL. I

No. 2

THE OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE
PORTOLA EXPEDITION
OF 1769-1770

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. TEGGART
Curator of the Academy of Pacific Coast History

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA
AUGUST, 1909

Price 50 cents

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(Founded 1907.)

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ESTRACTO DE NOTICIAS
*del Puerto de Monterrey, de la Mis-
sion, y Presidio que se han estableci-
do en él con la denominacion de San
Carlos, y del suceso de las dos Expe-
diciones de Mar, y Tierra que à este
fin se despacharon en el año proxi-
mo anterior de 1769.*

DESPUES DE LAS REPETIDAS,
y costosas Expediciones que se hi-
cieron por la Corona de España en
los dos siglos antecedentes para el
reconocimiento de la Costa Occi-
dental de Californias, por la mar del
Sur, y la ocupacion del importante Puerto de
Monterrey, se ha logrado ahora felizmente esta
empresa con las dos Expediciones de mar, y
tierra que à consecuencia de Real Orden, y por
disposicion de este Superior Gobierno, se despacha-
ron desde el Cabo de San Lucas, y el Presidio de
Loreto en los meses de Enero, Febrero, y Marzo
del año proximo anterior.

En Junio de él se juntaron ambas Expedi-
ciones en el Puerto de San Diego, situado à los 32.
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INTRODUCTION.

The brief publication here reprinted, with an English translation, contains the first announcement of the results of the Portolá expedition to California in 1769 and 1770. The pamphlet was issued by the government of New Spain and was entitled:

Estracto de noticias/ del Puerto de Monterrey, de la Mis-
sion, y Presidio que se han estableci-/do en èl con la denomina-
cion de San/ Carlos, y del suceso de las dos Expe-/diciones de
Mar, y Tierra que à este/ fin se despacharon en el año proxi-/mo
anterior de 1769./

(At end): Mexico 16. de Agosto de 1770./ Con licencia y
orden, del Exmô. Señor Virrey./ En la Imprenta del Superior
Gobierno.// Folio, 3 leaves.

A second edition containing a number of typographical corrections, which are given in foot-notes to the text of this reprint, was also issued with the same date:

Estracto de noticias/ del Puerto de Monterrey, de la/ Mis-
sion, y Presidio que se han/ establecido en èl con la denomi-/
nacion de San Carlos, y del su-/cesso de las dos Expediciones
de/ Mar, y Tierra que à este fin se/ despacharon en el año prox-
imo/ anterior de 1769.// Small quarto, 4 leaves.

A copy of each of these editions is in the possession of the University of California.

The *Estracto de noticias* was reprinted in Father Francisco Palou's *Relacion histórica de la vida . . . del Venerable Padre Fray Junípero Serra*. Mexico, 1787. pp. 108-112; and having been included in the same author's manuscript *Noticias de la Nueva California*, appears in the two modern editions of that work: Mexico 1857 (*Documentos para la historia de México*, series 4, vols. 6 and 7), and San Francisco, 1874, 4 vols. (California Historical Society's publication). In no case, however,

642; vol. 17 (1902): pp. 69-76. The Spanish text, however, still remains to be printed.

The forces of the expedition having been united at San Diego were again divided. The *San Antonio* under Captain Juan Perez returned to San Blas, Vila and Cañizares with Father Junípero Serra remained at San Diego, while the main body, under Portolá, set out for Monterey on July 14, 1769. Of this journey the following accounts have been preserved:

Gaspar de Portolá, *Diario del viage . . . á los puertos de San Diego y Monterrey.*

Miguel Costansó, *Diario del viage de tierra hecho al norte de la California.*

Pedro Fages, *Voyage en Californie; traduit de l'espagnol.* In *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, Paris, vol. 101 (1844): pp. 145-182, 311-347.

José Francisco Ortega, *Fragmento de 1769.*

Father Juan Crespi, *Viage de la espedition de tierra de San Diego á Monterey*, In Palou's *Noticias de la Nueva California*. San Francisco, 1874. vol. 2, pp. 100-208.

In pursuance of its policy to publish all the documents relating to the Spanish history of California, the Academy of Pacific Coast History will issue each of these items in the present series accompanied by an English translation.

ESTRACTO DE NOTICIAS DEL PUERTO DE MONTERREY, DE LA MISSION, Y PRESIDIO QUE SE HAN ESTABLECIDO EN EL CON LA DENOMINACION DE SAN CARLOS, Y DEL SUCESSO DE LAS DOS EXPEDICIONES DE MAR, Y TIERRA QUE A ESTE FIN SE DESPACHARON EN EL AÑO PROXIMO ANTERIOR DE 1769.

Despues de las repetidas, y costosas Expediciones que se hicieron por la Corona de España en los dos siglos antecedentes para el reconocimiento de la Costa Occidental de Californias, por la mar del Sur, y la ocupacion del importante Puerto de Monterrey, se ha logrado ahora felizmente esta empresa con las dos Expediciones¹ de mar, y tierra que à consecuencia de Real Orden, y por disposicion de este Superior Gobierno, se despacharon desde el Cabo de San Lucas, y el Presidio de Loreto en los meses de Enero, Febrero, y Marzo del año proximo anterior.

En Junio de èl se juntaron ambas Expediciones en el Puerto de San Diego, situado à los 32. grados, y medio de latitud, y tomada la resolucion [2] de que el Paquebot San Antonio, regresase al Puerto de San Blas, para reforzar su tripulacion, y llevar nuevas proviciones, quedò anclado en el mismo Puerto de San Diego el Paquebot Capitana nombrado S.² Carlos por falta de los Marineros que murieron de escorbuto; y establecidas allí la Mission, y Escolta, siguiò la Expedicion de tierra su viage por lo interior del Pays, hasta el grado 37. y 45 minutos de latitud en demanda de Monterrey; pero no haviendole hallado con las señas de los viages, y derroteros antiguos, y recelando escasez³

¹ Second edition: Expediciones.

² San.

³ escasez.

SUMMARY OF NEWS OF THE PORT OF MONTEREY,
OF THE MISSION AND PRESIDIO WHICH HAVE BEEN
ESTABLISHED THERE UNDER THE NAME OF SAN
CARLOS, AND OF THE RESULT OF THE TWO EXPEDI-
TIONS BY SEA AND LAND WHICH WERE SENT OUT
FOR THAT PURPOSE LAST YEAR, 1769.

After the repeated and costly expeditions which were made by the crown of Spain during the last two centuries for the exploration of the western coast of the Californias by way of the southern ocean, and for the occupation of the important Port of Monterey, this undertaking has now been happily accomplished by the two expeditions by sea and land, which in consequence of the royal command and by disposition of this superior government, were sent out from Cape San Lucas and the Presidio of Loreto in the months of January, February and March of last year.

In June of 1769 the two expeditions united at the Port of San Diego, situated in latitude $32^{\circ} 30'$ [north], and the decision being made that the packet *San Antonio* should return to the Port of San Blas to reënforce her crew, and procure fresh provisions, the flag-packet *San Carlos* remained at anchor in the Port of San Diego, for want of the sailors who had died of scurvy. And the mission and a guard being established there, the land-expedition continued its journey through the interior of the country as far as latitude $37^{\circ} 45'$, in search of Monterey. But not having found it by the indications given in the old voyages and sailing-directions, and fearing a scarcity of provisions,

de Viveres, bolvió à San Diego donde con el feliz arribo del Paquebot San Antonio en Marzo de este año, tomaron los Comandantes de tierra, y mar⁴ la oportuna resolucion de bolver à la empresa conforme à las instrucciones que llevaron para conseguirla.

Confecto⁵ salieron de San Diego ambas Expediciones en los dias 16. y 17. de Abril del presente, y en este segundo viage tuvo la de tierra la felicidad de hallar el Puerto de Monterrey, y de llegar à èl, el 16. de Mayo, y la de mar arribò tambien al mismo parage sin desgracia, ni mas perdida q⁶ la de un Calafate enfermo, el 31. del proprio mes.

Ocupado assi aquel Puerto por mar, y tierra con particular complacencia de los innumerables Indios Gentiles, que pueblan todo el Pays explorado, y reconocido en los dos viages, se solemnizò la Possession el dia 3⁷ de Junio con Instrumento autentico que extendió el Comandante en Gefe D. Gaspar de Portolà, y certificaron los demàs Oficiales de ambas Expediciones, asegurando todos ser aquel el mismo Puerto de Monterrey, con las identicas señales que describieron las Relaciones antiguas del [3] General D. Sebastian⁸ Viscayno, y el derrotero de D. Joseph Cabrera Bueno, primer Piloto de las Naos de Philipinas.

En el dia 14. del citado mes de Junio ultimo despachó el dicho Comandante D. Gaspar de Portolà, un Correo por tierra al Presidio de Loreto, con la plausible noticia de la ocupacion de Monterrey, y de quedar estableciendo en èl la Mission, y Presidio de San Carlos; pero con el motivo de la gran distancia, aun no ha recibido este Superior Gobierno aquellos Pliegos, y en 10. del presente mes llegaron à esta Capital los que desde el Puerto de San Blas, dirigieron el mismo Portolà, el Ingeniero D. Miguel Costansò, y el Capitan D. Juan Perez, Comandante del ex-

⁴ mar,

⁵ Con efecto.

⁶ que.

⁷ 3.

⁸ Sebastian.

pressado Paquebot, San Antonio, alias el Principe, que salió el 9. de Julio de Monterrey; y sin embargo de ocho dias de calmas, hizo su largo viage con tan feliz celeridad que el primero de este mes hechò la ancla en San Blas.

Quedaron abundantes utiles,⁹ y provisiones en el nuevo Presidio, y Mission de San Carlos de Monterrey, y el repuesto para un año, à fin de establecer otra Doctrina en proporcionada distancia con la advocacion de San Buenaventura; y haviendo quedado tambien por Comandante Militar de aquellos nuevos Establecimientos el Teniente de Voluntarios de Cataluña, D. Pedro Fages con mas de treinta hombres, se haze juicio que à esta fecha se le habrá unido ya el Capitan del Presidio de Loreto D. Fernando de Rivera con otros diez, y nueve Soldados, y los Baqueros, y Harrieros que conducian doscientas Reses Bacunas, y porcion de Viveres, desde [4] la nueva Mission de S.¹⁰ Fernando de Villacatà, situada mas allà de la Frontera de la California antiguamente reducida; pues salió de aquel parage el 14. de Abril ultimo con destino à los expressados Puertos de San Diego, y Monterrey.

No obstante de que en este se dejaron provistos con abundancia los Almacenes ya costruidos del nuevo Presidio, y Mission à la salida del Paquebot San Antonio, y de que en el de San Diego se regulan anclados los otros dos Paquebots de Su Magestad,¹¹ San Carlos, y San Joseph, dispone este Superior Gobierno que en fines de Octubre proximo buelva el San Antonio à emprender tercer viage desde el Puerto de San Blas, y que conduzca nuevas provisiones,¹² y treinta Religiosos Fernandinos de la ultima Mission que vino de España, para que en el dilatado, y fertil Pays, reconocido por la Expedicion de tierra desde la antigua Frontera de la California, hasta el Puerto de San Francisco, poco distante, y mas al Norte del de Monterrey, se erijan

⁹ útiles.

¹⁰ San.

¹¹ Mag.

¹² Provisiones.

nuevas Misiones, y se logre la dichosa oportunidad que ofrece la mansedumbre, y buena indole de los innumerables Indios Gentiles que habitan la California Septentrional.

En prueba de esta feliz disposicion con que se halla aquella numerosa, y docilissima Gentilidad, assegura el Comandante D. Gaspar de Portolà, y en lo mismo convienen los demàs Oficiales, y los Padres Misioneros, que nuestros Españoles quedan en Monterrey tan seguros, como si estuvieran en medio de esta Capital, bien que el nuevo Presidio se ha dexado suficientemente guarnecido con Artilleria, Tropa, y abundantes municiones de guerra; y el [5] Reverendo Padre Presidente de las Misiones destinado à la de Monterrey refiere muy por menor, y con especial gozo la afavilidad de los Indios, y la promesa que ya le havian hecho de entregarle sus hijos para instruirlos en los Misterios de nuestra Sagrada, y Catholica Religion; añadiendo aquel exemplar, y zeloso Ministro de ella, la circunstanciada noticia de las Missas Solemnnes que se havian celebrado desde el arribo de ambas Expediciones hasta la salida del Paquebot San Antonio, y de la Solemne Procession del Santissimo Sacramento, que se hizo en el dia del Corpus 14. de Junio, con otras particularidades que acreditan la especial providencia con que Dios se ha dignado favorecer el buen exito de estas Expediciones en premio sin duda del ardiente zelo de Nuestro Augusto Soberano, cuya piedad incomparable reconoce, como primera obligacion de su Corona Real en estos vastos Dominios, la extencion de la Fè de Jesu-Christo,¹⁸ y la felicidad de los misereros Gentiles que gimen sin conocimiento de ella, en la tirana esclavitud del enemigo comun.

Por no retardar esta importantissima noticia, se ha formado en breve compendio la presente Relacion de ella sin esperar los primeros pliegos despachados por tierra desde Monterrey, entre tanto que con ellos, los diarios de los viages por mar y tierra, y

¹⁸ Jesu Christo

advantage may be taken of the fortunate opportunity presented by the peaceableness and good disposition of the innumerable heathen Indians that inhabit Northern California.

In proof of the kindly nature which characterizes that vast and most docile body of heathen, the commander, Don Gaspar de Portolá, declares, and in this the other officers and the missionary fathers concur, that our Spaniards are as free from danger in Monterey as if they were in the midst of this capital, although the new presidio has been left sufficiently equipped with artillery, troops, and ample munitions of war. And the Reverend Father President of the Missions [Serra], assigned to the charge of Monterey, mentions, in detail and with particular satisfaction, the affability of the Indians, and the promise which they had already made him, to intrust their children to him to instruct them in the mysteries of our holy Catholic religion. That pattern and zealous minister of our religion adding a minute account of the solemn masses which had been celebrated from the arrival of the two expeditions to the departure of the packet *San Antonio*, and of the solemn procession of the most holy sacrament, which took place on the day of Corpus Christi, the 14th of June, with other noteworthy events that prove the special providence with which God has deigned to favor the successful issue of these expeditions, as a reward, doubtless, for the fervent zeal of our august sovereign, whose incomparable piety acknowledges as the highest obligation of his royal crown in these vast dominions, the extension of the faith of Jesus Christ, and the welfare of the wretched heathen, who being without knowledge of the gospel, groan under the tyrannical bondage of the common enemy.

That there may be no delay in giving out this most important intelligence, the present account has been drawn up in condensed form, without waiting for the first despatches sent by land from Monterey, inasmuch as with them, and the diaries of the voy-

los demás Documentos, se puede dar à su tiempo una obra completa de ambas Expediciones.

Mexico 16. de Agosto de 1770.

Con licencia y orden, del Ex^{ma}. Señor Virrey. En la Imprenta del Superior Gobierno.

ages by sea and land, and the rest of the documents, there can be given in due time a complete account of both expeditions.

Mexico, 16th of August, 1770.

By permission and command of his excellency, the viceroy.
In the printing-office of the superior government.

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- Vol. 1. No. 1. San Francisco Clearing House Certificates, by Carl Copping Plehn. January, 1909. .10
2. The Official Account of the Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770, edited by Frederick J. Teggart. August, 1909. .10
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VOL. 1

No. 3

DIARY OF GASPAR DE PORTOLA
DURING THE CALIFORNIA
EXPEDITION OF 1769-1770

EDITED BY

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
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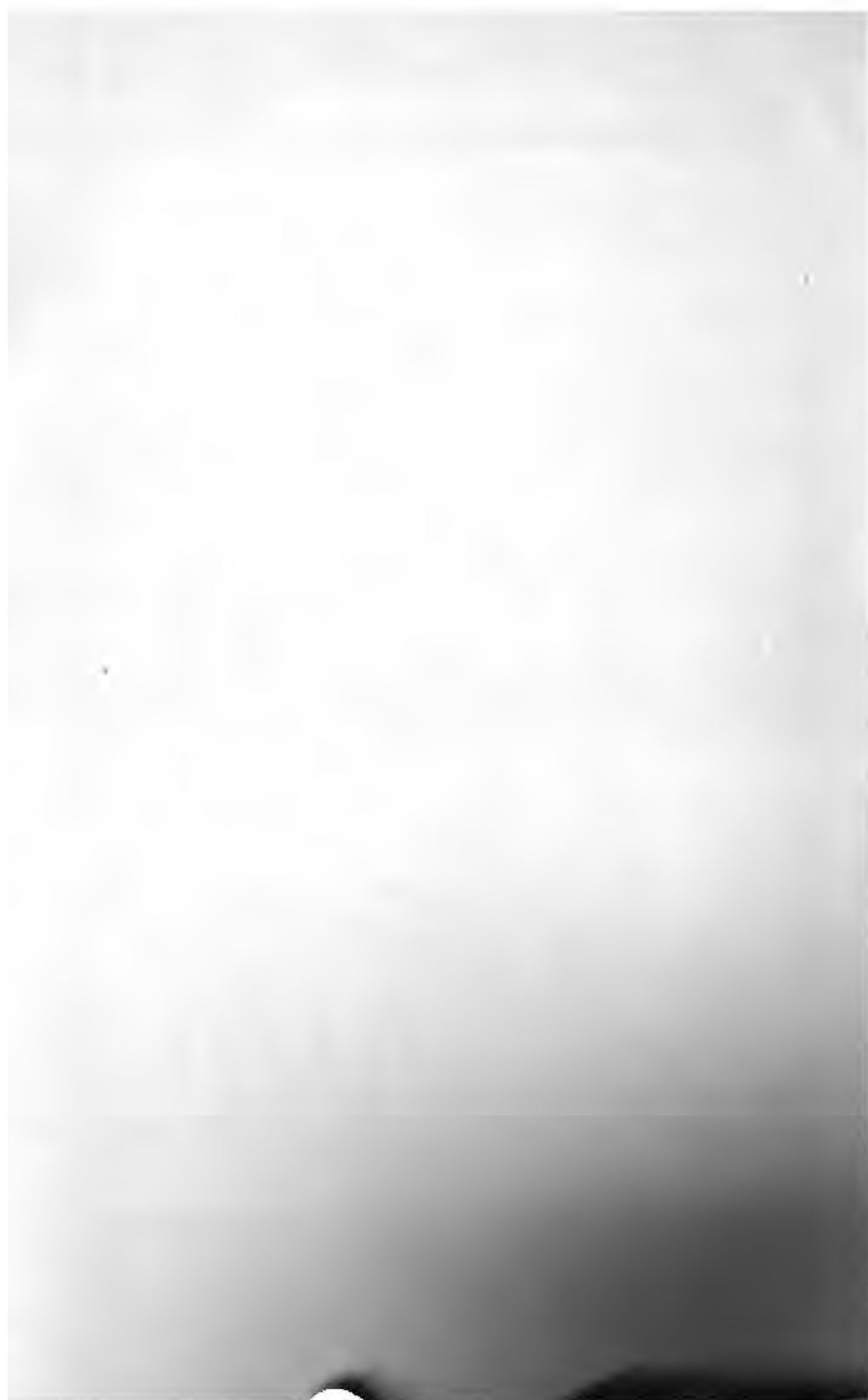
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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON GASPAR DE PORTOLA.

The facts of Portolá's career, down to September, 1770, are given succinctly in the following statement¹ which was drawn up to accompany his application for an advance in rank.

Capitan Don Gaspar de Portola: Su edad 47 años. Su pais Balaguer en Cataluña. Su calidad noble. Su estado soltero. Sus servicios, y circunstancias, los que expresa, y justifica por sus papeles.

Tiempo, en que empezó á servir los empleos.				Tiempo, que há servido, y quanto, en cada empleo.			
Empleos	Dias	Meses	Años	Empleos	Años	Meses	Dias
Alferez en los regimientos de dragones de Villaviciosa y Numancia	31	Julio	1734	De alferez	8	8	26
Theniente de dragones y granaderos de Numancia	26	Abril	1743	De theniente	21	3	5
De capitan en este	31	Julio	1764	De capitan	6	2	—
Total hasta fin de Septiembre de 1770					36	2	1

Ocasiones, en que se há hallado y justifica.

Don Clemente de Montes sargento mayor de regimiento de dragones de España del que es coronel Don Domingo Elizondo, y por su auencia, actual comandante Don Miguel de Aviles, theniente coronel.

Zertifico que por el Libro de Servicios de dicho regimiento que para en mi poder consta que los del Capitan Don Gaspar de Portola son conforme expresa la relacion que antecede: Se ha hallado en los sitios de Demonte, Cuneo, Tortona, Valencia del Poo, batallas de la Madona del Olmo (en la que fue herido) y Placencia, reenquentros del paso del Panaro, y del Fidoni, y

¹ Correspondencia de los Virreyes, Croix, 1769-1773, tomo 3, doc. 739.

campana de Portugal. Ha estado de governador de Californias, en la expulsion de los Jesuitas desde Octubre de 1767 y comandante en gefe de la expedicion y conquista de los puertos de San Diego, y Monterrey desde Mayo de 1769 hasta su conclusion en Septiembre de 1770, y para que conste lo firmo en Mexico a treinta de Septiembre de mil settesientos y settenta.

Clem^{te} de Montez.

Visto Bueno

Miguel de Avilés.

(TRANSLATION)

Captain Gaspar de Portolá, his age, 47 years; his birthplace, Balaguer in Catalonia; his rank, noble; his condition, unmarried; his service and record, as set forth and authenticated in his papers.

Date when he began to hold the commissions.				Length of time he served under each commission.			
Commissions	Days	Months	Years	Commissions	Years	M'ths	Days
Ensign in the dragoon regiments of Villaviciosa and Numancia	31	July	1734	As ensign	8	8	26
Lieutenant of dragoons and grenadiers of Numancia	26	April	1743	As lieutenant	21	3	5
Captain in this [España] regiment	31	July	1764	As captain	6	2	—
Total to the end of September, 1770					36	2	1

Actions in which he was engaged and attestation thereof.

[Certificate given by] Don Clemente de Montes, major of the España regiment of dragoons, of which Don Domingo Elizondo is colonel, in whose absence Don Miguel de Avilés, lieutenant-colonel, is acting commander:

I certify that from the regimental records which are in my keeping it appears that the services of Captain Gaspar de Portolá are in accordance with the foregoing statement.

He was present at the sieges of Demonte,² Cuneo, Tortona, Valencia on the Po; the battles of Madona on the Olmo, in which he was wounded, and of Placencia; the skirmishes at the passage of the Panaro and of the Fidoni; and took part in the campaign of Portugal.

He held the office of governor of the Californias from October, 1767, during the expulsion of the Jesuits, and was commander-in-chief of the expedition for the acquisition of the ports of San Diego and Monterey from May, 1769, until its conclusion in September, 1770.

In evidence of this I affix my signature, Mexico, September 30, 1770.

Clemente de Montes.

Correct

Miguel de Avilés.

In 1776 Portolá was appointed governor of the city of Puebla where he took office February 23, 1777. His successor was appointed by a royal order dated October 15, 1783; and, in a letter of January 24, 1784, the Viceroy reported to the Minister of War in Spain that he had advanced to Colonel Portolá twelve payments of his salary to cover the expenses of his return to Spain. The date of his death has not as yet been ascertained.

² As some of these names are obviously incorrect, while others are meaningless, they are printed without editorial comment or correction.

DIARIO DEL VIAGE QUE HAZE POR TIERRA DON¹
 GASPAR DE PORTOLA CAPITAN DE DRAGONES DEL
 REGIMIENTO² DE ESPAÑA GOVERNADOR DE CALI-
 FORNIAS A LOS PUERTOS DE SAN DIEGO, Y MONTE-
 RREY, SITUADOS EN 33 Y 37 GRADOS HAVIENDO SIDO
 NOMBRADO COMANDANTE EN GEFE DE ESTA EX-
 PEDICION POR EL ILLUSTRISIMO³ SEÑOR DON⁴
 JOSEPH DE GALBEZ EN VIRTUD DE LAS FACULTA-
 DES VICE-REGIAS QUE LE HA CONCEDIDO SU EX-
 CELENCIA.⁵ DICHA EXPEDICION SE COMPOÑIA DE
 37. SOLDADOS DE CUERA CON SU CAPITAN DON⁶
 FERNANDO DE RIVERA DEVIENDO ESTE ADELAN-
 TARSE CON VEINTE Y SIETE SOLDADOS, Y EL GOVER-
 NADOR CON DIEZ Y UN SARGENTO.

Horas El dia 11 de Mayo sali de Santa Maria ultima mision del
 norte, escoltado de quatro soldados en compañía del Padre
 Junípero Cerra Presidente de las Misiones, y el Reverendo
 Padre Fray⁷ Miguel Campa; en este dia se handuvo como
 quatro horas con poquissima agua para las bestias, nada de
 pasto, por lo que obligó á marchar por la tarde para lograrlo
 6 aunque sin agua.

El 12. handuvimos por buen camino cinco horas paramos en
 5 el parage que llaman la Posa de agua dulce[;] sin pasto.

El 13. handuvimos como quatro horas (digo) leguas sin
 pasto, ni agua, en este mismo dia me adelanté con los reveren-
 dos padres⁸ á Belicatá, handuvimos como quatro horas[;] el

¹ D^a

² Regim^{to}

³ Ill^{mo}

⁴ D^a

⁵ Excel^a

⁶ D^a

⁷ R. P^o fr.

⁸ R.R. P.P.

DIARY OF THE JOURNEY THAT DON GASPAR DE PORTOLA, CAPTAIN OF DRAGOONS IN THE ESPAÑA REGIMENT, GOVERNOR OF THE CALIFORNIAS, MADE BY LAND TO THE PORTS OF SAN DIEGO AND MONTEREY, SITUATED IN 33° AND 37° [NORTH LATITUDE], HAVING BEEN APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THIS EXPEDITION BY THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS DON JOSEPH DE GALVEZ, IN VIRTUE OF THE VICEREGAL POWERS WHICH HAD BEEN GRANTED TO HIM BY HIS EXCELLENCY,[THE VICEROY]. THE EXPEDITION WAS COMPOSED OF THIRTY-SEVEN SOLDIERS IN LEATHER JACKETS WITH THEIR CAPTAIN, DON FERNANDO DE RIVERA; THIS OFFICER WAS SENT IN ADVANCE WITH TWENTY-SEVEN SOLDIERS AND THE GOVERNOR[FOLLOWED]WITH TEN MEN AND A SERGEANT.

The 11th day of May,[1769,]I set out from Santa María, the 1769
last mission to the north, escorted by four soldiers, in company ^{May}
with Father Junípero Serra, president of the missions, and
Father Miguel Campa. This day we proceeded for about four
hours with very little water for the animals and without any
pasture, which obliged us to go on farther in the afternoon to find
some. There was, however, no water.

The 12th, we proceeded over a good road for five hours and
halted at the place called La Poza de Agua Dulce. No pasture.

The 13th, we proceeded for about four hours,[by which]I
denote leagues, without water or pasture. This day I went ahead
with the reverend fathers to Velicatá; we proceeded for about

dia siguiente se hizo descanso para establecer al Padre⁹ Campa en dicho¹⁰ Bellicatá para que fuese ministro de aquella misión nueva, y se quitase la de Santa Maria por orden del Illustrisimo¹¹ Señor Don Joseph¹² de Galbez.

9 El 15. salimos de dicha¹³ misión con el Reverendo Padre Fray¹⁴ Junípero Zerra, handuvimos cinco horas de buen camino
5 mucho pasto sin agua.

El 16 handuvimos como cinco horas no mui buen camino, y paramos en San Juan de Dios, arroyo de bastante pasto, y agua; en este parage nos detuvimos quatro dias para arreglar nuestra marcha por haver adelantado á el sargento con seis hombres mas
5 que¹⁵ componian el todo diez hombres.

El 21. handuvimos como 3½ horas siempre por la ladera de una montaña grande, y á la derecha un arroyo con pasto, y
3½ agua.

El 22 handuvimos tres horas, y paramos en una posa de
3 dicho¹⁶ arroyo.

El 23 handuvimos como cinco horas, las quatro todas de
5 sierra, y lo restante una mesa llana, aqui tubimos . . .

El 24. handuvimos como quatro horas, la mitad por un arroyo de mucha arena, y lo restante de sierra mui penosa, sin pasto, ni agua para la cavallada, aunque para la gente hubo á legua
4 y media del parage.

El 25. handuvimos quatro horas lo mas del camino de una grande suvida, y lo restante por la ladera de una sierra, paramos en un arroyo frondoso de alamos, y mesquites¹⁷ mucha agua, y pasto; aqui se hizo descanso, se vieron tres gentiles¹⁸ se despacharon Indios amigos para cogerlos, se pudo lograr uno se le agassaxó quanto se pudo, y se le entendio por señas que su capitan lo havia enviado para que nos tuviera cuenta, y que juntando otras rancherias se esconderian para¹⁹ matar al
4 padre y compañía.

El 27. handuvimos como cinco horas buen camino, paramos en la Cieneguilla, cuio nombre puso el Padre Jesuita Linc,

⁹ P ^o	¹⁰ dho	¹¹ Ill ^{mo}	¹² d ^o Jph
¹³ dha	¹⁴ R ^{do} P ^o fr.	¹⁵ q ^o	¹⁶ dho
¹⁷ mesquit ^a	¹⁸ gent ^{es}	¹⁹ p ^{ra}	

four hours[longer]. The day following, a stop was made to establish Father Campa in Velicatá as head of the new mission. He had left the Mission of Santa María by order of the most illustrious Don Joseph de Galvez. 1769
May

The 15th, we set out from the mission with Father Junípero Serra and proceeded for five hours on a good road. Much pasture without water.

The 16th, we proceeded for about five hours on a rather poor road and halted at San Juan de Dios, a gully with sufficient pasture and water. In this place we remained for four days to arrange our march, having overtaken the sergeant[Ortega] with six more men, which made up the entire force of ten men.

The 21st, we proceeded for about three hours and a half, the whole time along the slope of a large mountain, having on the right a gully with pasture and water.

The 22nd, we proceeded for three hours and halted at a pool in this gully.

The 23rd, we proceeded for about five hours, four of them entirely through mountainous country and the remainder over a level upland; here we had . . .

The 24th, we proceeded for about four hours, half of the time along a very sandy gully and the remainder over a very difficult hilly country. No pasture and no water for the animals, though there was some for the men a league and a half from the [stopping] place.

The 25th, we proceeded for four hours, the greater part of the way being a long ascent and the remainder the descent of a range; we halted in a gully, well-wooded with cottonwoods and mesquits. Much water and pasture. Here we rested[for one day]. Three natives were seen and friendly Indians were sent to bring them in; they succeeded in getting one who was treated as well as possible, and it was understood from him by signs that his chief had sent him to watch us and that, uniting with other villages, they were going to lie in ambush to kill the father[Serra] and company.

The 27th, we proceeded for about five hours on a good road. We halted at La Cieneguilla, the name given by the Jesuit Father Linc. From this point another route was taken and we halted

5 desde aqui se tomó otro rumbo, y paramos en un arroyuelo aunque seco con facilidad se abrio batequi.

El 28 handuvimos quatro horas y media, se vieron gentiles cerca del real²⁰ se envio Indios amigos y trageron diez con su capitan, se les agasaxó quanto se pudo, y se les despidio; al tiempo de marchar se aparecieron 32 gentiles con sus capitanes con muchos ademanos, y griteria²¹ y haviendo mandado se adelantasse el sargento con el interprete á ver lo que querian, que passasemos adelante, y aunque les persuadimos que eramos amigos subsistian, y que si passavamos adelante querian pelear, cansado yá de buenas razones, y que no servian, mandé al sargento²² y dos soldados, disparassen dos tiros al aire sin poderlos ofender, lo que vastó para irsse; en este dia se encontró una rancheria de doce hombres con su capitan, los que²³ se ofrecieron como amigos acompañarnos, y enseñarnos el aguage, se les regaló lo que se pudo, y correspondieron con mescales, y
4½ nos ofrecieron acompañarnos por la mañana como lo hicieron.

El 29 handuvimos como quatro horas, por cerros mui encumbrados, paramos en un arroyo de mucha agua, y pasto, y con una grande alameda[;] esta noche se pasó mui mal con motivo de toda la noche estar dando estampidas la cavallada; por lo que se descansó el dia siguiente, buen parage para fundar mission se le puso San²⁴ Fernando por ser su dia, aqui concurrio
4 una rancheria de gentiles como hasta veinte y cinco.

El 31. handubimos quatro horas, las tres por cerros, y cuestras, y lo restante por un arroyo de poca agua, y mucha arboleda
4 á que concurrio una rancheria de veinte y cinco gentiles.

El 1º de Junio handuvimos tres horas y media por un arroyo
3½ de mucha agua, muchos pantáños, piedras, y con mucha arboleda.

El 2 handuvimos tres horas y media por cerros mui empinados, en uno de ellos abrio camino el capitan²⁵ paramos en
3½ un arroyo de bastante agua, y pasto, aqui se hizo descanso.

El 4. handuvimos quatro horas todo cuestras mui asperas, y
4 paramos sin pasto, ni agua.

²⁰ Rⁱ
²⁴ S^a

²¹ griter^a
²⁵ Cap^a

²² Sargen^o

²³ q^o

in a little gully. Although it was dry, a water-hole was dug 1769
without difficulty.

May

The 28th, we proceeded for four hours and a half. As natives were seen near the camp, friendly Indians were sent out and brought back ten with their chief; these were treated as well as possible and then dismissed. When we were about to march, thirty-two natives with their chiefs came up with many gestures and shouts. The sergeant[Ortega] was ordered to go in advance with the interpreter to see what they wanted so that we might move onward. Although we assured them that we were friends, they remained and [it was evident] that if we advanced they would fight. Finally, tired of mere arguments that were to no purpose, I ordered the sergeant and two soldiers to fire two shots in the air without injuring them, which was sufficient to make them disperse. During the day, we came upon a village of twelve men with their chief, who offered to accompany us as friends and show us the watering-place; we entertained them as well as we were able and they returned the favor with agaves and offered to accompany us the next day, which they did.

The 29th, we proceeded for about four hours over very high hills; we halted in a gully having much water and pasture and a large grove of cottonwoods. We passed a very bad night because, all night long, the animals were stampeded. On this account, we rested the following day. As it seemed a good site for a mission we called it San Fernando, this being his day. Here we came to a village of about twenty-five natives.

The 31st, we proceeded for four hours, three of them over hills and rising ground and the remainder along a gully which had little water and many trees and in which there was a village of twenty-five natives.

The 1st of June, we proceeded for three hours and a half June
along a gully full of water with many marshy places and rocks and with many trees.

The 2nd, we proceeded for three hours and a half over very steep hills; on one of these the captain[Rivera] had cleared a path. We halted in a gully where there was sufficient water and pasture. Here we rested [for one day].

The 4th, we proceeded for four hours, the entire road over very rough slopes, and halted without either pasture or water.

El 5 handuvimos dos horas y media, aqui se abrio batequi,
2½ y quasi sin pasto.

El 6 handuvimos seis horas y media, muchos mescales por el camino, paramos en una posa de agua mui grande[,] bellisimo parage para agostar muchas cavallerias, aunque fuesse todo el año, mucha y buena tierra para²⁶ sembrar y se beya mucho rostro de gentiles, y se bieron algunos; se descansó dos dias,
6½ y se vio infinidad de berrendos, liebres y conexos.

El 9 handuvimos como tres horas y media buen camino, paramos en un arroyo de mucho pasto, agua y arboleda, y mucha tierra para sembrar.

El 10 handuvimos cinco y media²⁷ horas, todo el camino fue de cerros mui empinados, y paramos en un arroyo mui grande
5½ con mucho pasto, y alguna agua para las cavallerias.

El 11. handuvimos como quatro horas y media, todo el camino fue bueno llano, y sin piedras, paramos en un arroyo grande con pasto, y poca agua[;] en dicho²⁸ arroyo se ven alamos la
4½ tierra buena y mucha.

El 12 handubimos como quatro horas y media²⁹ de subidas, y baxadas, aqui no hubo agua, ni para la gente, ni para las
4½ bestias.

El 13. handuvimos como tres horas, y media de camino doblado, subidas, y baxadas mui pendientes, se abrieron batequis, y solo hubo para la gente.

El 14 handuvimos como tres horas y media, tuvimos parte de buena tierra, y parte de cuestras, paramos en un arroyo ancho con varios ojos de agua; este parage de los vistos, tengo por el mexor, y mui aproposito para mission de facilidad de siembras, y saca de agua, se le pusso San Antonio, aqui se descansó un
2½ dia para reforzar la cavallada de los dos dias malos antecedentes.

El 17. handuvimos algo mas de tres horas . . . fue bueno la maior parte hubo abundancia de agua, solo si que era caliente, y dexada enfriar que se conseguia á poco rato la experimentamos mui buena.

²⁶ p^a²⁷ m^a²⁸ dho²⁹ m^a

The 5th, we proceeded for two hours and a half. Here a 1769
water-hole was dug and there was almost no pasture.

June

The 6th, we proceeded for six hours and a half; there were many agaves along the road. We halted at a very large pool of water—a most beautiful place to pasture many animals, possibly for the entire year—where there was much good land for sowing. We saw many signs of natives and some of the people themselves. We rested here for two days and saw an endless number of antelopes, hares, and rabbits.

The 9th, we proceeded for about three hours and a half on a good road; we halted in a gully where there was much pasture and water, many trees and much land for sowing.

The 10th, we proceeded for five hours and a half; the entire road was over very steep hills. We halted in a very large gully where there was much pasture and some water for the animals.

The 11th, we proceeded for about four hours and a half; the entire way was perfectly level ground and without stones. We halted in a large gully where there was pasture but little water. In this gully we saw cottonwood trees; there was much good land.

The 12th, we proceeded for about four hours and a half, up and down hill. Here there was no water, neither for man nor beast.

The 13th, we proceeded for about three hours and a half over a winding road with very steep ascents and descents. Water-holes were dug, but there was water only for the men.

The 14th, we proceeded for about three hours and a half; part of the way we had good ground and part of the way hills. We halted in a wide gully where there were several springs. This place, from appearances, I regard as excellent and very suitable for a mission because of the facilities for raising grain and obtaining water. We named it San Antonio. Here we rested for one day[*qu.* two days]to allow the animals to recover[from the effects]of the two preceding hard days.

The 17th, we proceeded for a little more than three hours . . . the greater part of the way was good. There was an abundance of water only it was rather warm but, on being left to cool, which took but a short time, we found it very good.

El 18. handuvimos quatro horas de malisimo camino, para-
4 mos sin agua alguna; ni modo de facilitarla.

El 19. handuvimos como tres horas, y media el camino fue
bastante bueno, paramos sin agua, y reconociendo el terreno
solo pudimos facilitar á fuerza de trabajo un batequi, pasto
3 huvo medianamente.

El 20 handuvimos seis horas paramos á dos leguas de dis-
6 tancia de la playa, sin agua, ni para gente, ni cavallerias, el
camino fue la mitad de subidas, y baxadas, y lo restante un
plan montuoso.

El 21 handuvimos quatro horas de buen camino á la vista
del mar, paramos en un arroyo de mucha agua y pasto, aqui
descansó un dia la expediccion; en este intermedio acudieron
algunos gentiles, y uno de ellos dio señas haver cruzado otras
gentes adelante haciendo señas que á los doce dias llegaríamos
donde estas estaban paradas viviendo en cassas, y que alli havia
otras gentes lo que sirvio de consuelo, entendiendo asi por el
capitan³⁰ como por que estarian alli los barcos en este parage
observamos haver dos islas; es una ensenada grande con las
señas que³¹ dá Cabrera Bueno de la ensenada de Todos Santos.

El 23. caminamos quatro horas de buen camino tubimos ba-
stante agua, y pasto, paramos frente de una rancheria mui
grande de gentiles, los que acudieron inmediatamente al real³²
4 nos regalaron con pescado, y les correspondimos.³³

El 24 caminamos como cinco horas, á la salida tuvimos que
subir una cuesta mui grande, y empinada, y lo restante buen
camino, salio una rancheria á acompañarnos³⁴ hasta el aguage,
y serian como unos veinte y cinco gentiles, y paramos en un
5 buen arroyo de mucho pasto, y agua.

El 25 handuvimos cinco horas buen camino, á excepcion de
la baxada del arroyo que era malissima, en donde paramos con
5 mucho pasto, agua y arboleda, y un grande estero de agua dulce.

El 26 handubimos cinco horas por una suvida mui empinada
lo restante del camino bueno, á excepcion³⁵ de la baxada para

³⁰ Capit^a

³¹ q^o

³² R¹

³³ correspond^{mos}

³⁴ acompañarn^{os}

³⁵ excepz^{on}

The 18th, we proceeded for four hours on a very bad road. 1769
We halted without having any water nor the means to obtain it. June

The 19th, we proceeded for about three hours and a half; the road was fairly good. We halted where there was no water and, having reconnoitered the ground, we could only make a water-hole by dint of hard work; there was moderately good pasture.

The 20th, we proceeded for six hours. We halted at a distance of two leagues from the seashore. No water either for man or beast. Half of the road was up and down hill and the remainder through a wooded plain.

The 21st, we proceeded for four hours on a good road in sight of the ocean. We halted in a gully where there was much water and pasture. Here the expedition rested for one day. During this interim, some natives came [to the camp] and one of them made signs that he had come across other people ahead [of us], indicating that in twelve days we would reach the place where they had halted and were living in houses, and that there were [still] other people in that place. This served to cheer us as we thus understood from the chief that the ships were there. In this place we noticed that there were two islands; it is a large bay with the landmarks that Cabrera Bueno gives for the bay of Todos Santos.

The 23rd, we travelled for four hours on a good road; we had sufficient water and pasture. We halted opposite a very large Indian village and the inhabitants immediately came to the camp; they made us a present of fish and we made them a suitable return.

The 24th, we travelled for about five hours; at the outset we had to climb a very large and steep hill, but the remainder of the road was good. The inhabitants of a village, numbering about twenty-five natives, accompanied us as far as the watering-place. We halted in a pleasant gully where there was much pasture and water.

The 25th, we proceeded for five hours on a good road with the exception of the descent to the gully which was very bad. Here we halted [having] much pasture and water, and many trees; there was also an extensive lagoon of fresh water.

The 26th, we proceeded for five hours up a very steep slope; the remainder of the road was good, with the exception of the

entrar en el arroyo de bastante agua pasto, y arboleda; aqui
acudieron dos rancherias de gentiles que serian como unos cin-
5 cuenta.

El 27 handuvimos siete horas quasi siempre³⁶ por la playa,
haviendo encontrado en esta jornada siete rancherias, paramos
en un arroyo de mucho pasto, agua, y arboleda, acudieron al
instante dos rancherias . . . , y es de notar son tan summa-
mente interesados que importunavan los gentiles para que ad-
mittiessen las mugeres que presentavan como les dieren cosa de
ropa que de comida nada querian: aqui se descansó un dia.

El 29. handuvimos como tres horas por la orilla del mar,
aqui se hizo un batequi para la gente, acudieron diferentes gen-
3 tiles en el real³⁷.

El 30 handubimos como quatro horas por la orilla del mar
4 paramos en la punta de la marina del Puerto de San Diego.

El 1° de Julio caminamos cinco horas avistados³⁸ al puerto,
este dia llegamos al real³⁹ de San Diego, donde hallamos al
Capitan Don⁴⁰ Fernando de Ribera, y su tropa, y en el puerto
dado fondo el San Carlos, y el paquebot el Principe: la tropa
de voluntarios en tierra, los mas en cama, de la tripulacion de
marina quedava uno, ú otro marinero, y especialmente en San
Carlos havia muerto casi toda la gente, cuia imposibilidad les
5 tenia en suspenssion, aqui nos detuvimos hasta el dia 14 del
mismo, tanto para descargar los efectos de las misiones, como
para acudir á otras disposiciones para poner en practica nuestra
marcha. Viendo que yá yban cayendo al . . . marchar lo
mas prompto que pude, y por aconsejar tamvien⁴¹ Don⁴² Pedro
Pratt que el mexor remedio era mudar de temperamento, me
lleve seis voluntarios con su Theniente⁴³ Don⁴⁴ Pedro Fages, y el
Ingeniero Don⁴⁵ Miguel Costanzó que tamvien estaban malos;
andubimos tres horas, mucho pasto, pero sin agua para personas
3 ni cavallerias.

El 15. handubimos cinco horas, buen camino, paramos en
5 un arroyo de bastante pasto, y agua.

El 16. handuvimos quatro horas buen camino se encontró
en dicha⁴⁶ jornada dos rancherias de gentiles⁴⁷ que serian como

³⁶ spre

⁴⁰ d^a

⁴⁴ d^a

³⁷ R¹

⁴¹ tamv.

⁴⁵ d^a

³⁸ avistad^a

⁴² d^a

⁴⁶ dha

³⁹ R¹

⁴³ Then^{to}

⁴⁷ Gentil^a

descent necessary to enter the gully where there was sufficient water and pasture, and many trees. Here there came [to the camp the inhabitants of] two villages consisting of about fifty natives. 1769
June

The 27th, we proceeded for seven hours, almost continually along the seashore, having come upon seven villages during this day's march. We halted in a gully where there was much pasture and water, and many trees. There came immediately [to the camp the inhabitants of] two villages . . . , and it is noteworthy that the natives are so intensely sordid that they importuned us to receive their women whom they offered so that they might be given articles of clothing as they did not wish for anything to eat. Here we rested for one day.

The 29th, we proceeded for about three hours along the beach. Here a water-hole was dug for the men. A few natives came to the camp.

The 30th, we proceeded for about four hours along the beach. We halted on the neck of land of the Port of San Diego.

The 1st of July, we travelled for five hours in sight of the port. This day, we arrived at the camp at San Diego, where we found Captain Fernando de Rivera and his men and, in the port, [we found] anchored the *San Carlos* and the packet *El Principe* [or *San Antonio*.] The greater number of the land-volunteers were sick; of the naval force there remained only a few sailors, and in particular on the *San Carlos* nearly all the men had died. This predicament left them undecided [what to do]. Here we remained until the 14th day of the month, both to unload the effects belonging to the missions and to make other arrangements to carry out our march. Seeing that there was already falling . . . to march as soon as possible. And, because Don Pedro Pratt advised further that the best remedy would be a change of climate, I took with me six volunteers with their lieutenant, Don Pedro Fages, and the engineer, Don Miguel Costansó, who also were sick. We proceeded for three hours. Much pasture, but no water for man or beast. July

The 15th, we proceeded for five hours; a good road. We halted in a gully where there was sufficient pasture and water.

The 16th, we proceeded for four hours on a good road. On this day's march we came upon two Indian villages of about

4 quarenta; paramos en una cañada de mucho pasto, pero fué
precisso habrir batequi.

3 El 17. andubimos tres horas buen camino, se encontró una
rancheria sin gente; se paró en un arroyo de bastante agua, y
pasto.

El 18. handubimos tres horas lo mas del camino tierra blanda,
y paramos en un balle mui ameno con muchissimo pasto, y
agua: aqui descansamos un dia acudieron mas de 200 gentiles.

El 20 handubimos tres horas todo el camino de lomas, y
tierra blanda, paramos en una cañada de mucho pasto, y agua,
aqui acudio una rancheria . . . gentiles se regaló á todas
las mugeres, y niños con abalorios.

2 El 21. caminamos dos horas por lomas tendidas, y paramos
en una cañada con mucho pasto, y agua en donde acudieron tres
gentiles, y cinco mugeres.

3 El 22 handubimos tres horas, y media⁴⁸ todo tierra blanda
de lomas tendidas; paramos en un arroyo de mucho pasto, y
con una posa de agua, aqui havia una rancheria como de 20
gentiles en donde el Padre⁴⁹ Crespi, y el Padre⁵⁰ Gomez baup-
tizaron dos parbulos que se estaban muriendo.

4 El 23 handuvimos quatro horas con mucho pasto, agua y
arboleda.

3½ El 24 handuvimos como tres horas y media, paramos en un
arroyo con mucha agua, pasto, y arboleda en donde se encontró
una rancheria de gentiles como de cincuenta personas, nos rega-
laron de muchas semillas, y se les correspondio: descanso un dia.

3 El 26 handuvimos tres horas buen camino, poco pasto, sin
agua las cavallerias, para la gente no faltó.

3 El 27 handuvimos tres horas buen camino mucho pasto, y
agua.

El 28 handuvimos dos horas buen camino, y paramos en
un arroyo, como ocho varas de ancho, y como dos palmos de
agua que corre con mucha rapidez; aqui se experimentó á las
doce del dia un temblor de tierra tan sumamente fuerte . . .
implorando á Maria Santissima; duraria como media Ave Maria,
y al passar medio quarto de hora, repitió aunque no tan fuerte,

⁴⁸ m^a

⁴⁹ P^o

⁵⁰ P^o

forty inhabitants. We halted in a canyon where there was much pasture, but it was necessary to dig a water-hole. 1769
July

The 17th, we proceeded for three hours on a good road; we came upon a village without inhabitants. We halted in a gully where there was sufficient water and pasture.

The 18th, we proceeded for three hours, the greater part of the way through a pleasant country, and halted in a most inviting valley where there was very much pasture and water. Here we rested for one day; over two hundred natives came[to our camp].

The 20th, we proceeded for three hours, the entire way over hillocks and through a pleasant country. We halted in a canyon where there was much pasture and water. Here there came[to our camp the inhabitants of]a village . . . natives; we made presents of glass beads to all the women and children.

The 21st, we travelled for two hours over ranging hillocks, and halted in a canyon where there was much pasture and water. Here there came[to our camp]three natives with five women.

The 22nd, we proceeded for three hours and a half, the entire way through a pleasant country of ranging hillocks. We halted in a gully where there was much pasture and a pool of water. Here there was a village of about twenty natives in which Father Crespí and Father Gomez baptized two dying children.

The 23rd, we proceeded for four hours. Much pasture and water, and many trees.

The 24th, we proceeded for about three hours and a half. We halted in a gully which had much water, pasture, and many trees, where we came upon an Indian village of about fifty persons; they made us a present of much grain and we made them a suitable return. We rested for one day.

The 26th, we proceeded for three hours on a good road. Scant pasture; no water for the animals, though enough for the men.

The 27th, we proceeded for three hours on a good road. Much pasture and water.

The 28th, we proceeded for two hours on a good road and we halted by a stream about eight yards wide and about sixteen inches deep which flowed with great rapidity. Here, at twelve o'clock, we experienced an earthquake of such violence . . . supplicating Mary Most Holy. It lasted about half as long as an Ave Maria and, about ten minutes later, it was repeated though

mucho pasto, y agua, donde hay una rancheria de gentiles mui
2 grande como setenta, y al parecer mui dociles.

El 29 handuvimos tres horas buen camino, mucho pasto, pero
agua solo para las personas, en donde havia una rancheria de
3 gentiles, como de cincuenta personas.

El 30 handuvimos quatro horas buen camino, á excepcion
de dos cuestas mui empinadas, paramos en un valle mui grande
de mucho pasto, y agua, aqui se huvo de construir puente para
4 passar el arroyo, contemplo buen parage para mision.

El 31. handuvimos quatro horas, se encontró cerca del campo
mucha agua con mucho pasto, y tan crecido que las cavallerias
yban saltando para cruzar; aqui se hizo descansso; hemos ex-
perimentado seis ó siete temblores de tierra grandes; en este
mismo valle se há descubierto á la parte del sur entre dos montes
un ojo de agua que es á manera de rio, demonstrandose muchas
4 tierras.

El 2 handuvimos tres horas buen camino y paramos cerca
de un rio como de catorce pasos de ancho; en este dia se hán
observado quatro, ó cinco temblores de tierra.

El 3 handuvimos tres horas buen camino, y á la derecha
de él hay muchos pantanos de brea que llaman chapopote hemos
discurrido que si este materia⁵¹ que sale derretida por devajo
de la tierra puede ocasionar tantos temblores; tuvimos mucho
pasto, agua, y abundante⁵² de berrendos, y venados, aqui salio
una rancheria como de treinta gentiles, nos regalaron, ye se les
correspondio.

El 4 anduvimos dos horas y media buen camino bastante
agua, y pasto, avitada con una rancheria⁵³ de 30. gentiles, nos
2½ regalaron de nuezes, y bellotas, se les correspondio.

El 5 handuvimos quatro horas por cerros por havernos im-
pedido la sierra el passo de mar, en donde se hallava una ran-
cheria de gentiles, como de 60 personas, nos regalaron muchas
semillas, aqui se hizo descansso, y acudieron mas de doscientos

⁵¹ mater^a

⁵² abund^{ia}

⁵³ Ranch^a

not so violently. Much pasture and water. Here there was a very large Indian village of about seventy inhabitants, to all appearances very docile. 1769
July

The 29th, we proceeded for three hours on a good road. Much pasture, but water sufficient only for the men. Here there was an Indian village of about fifty inhabitants.

The 30th, we proceeded for four hours on a good road, with the exception of two very steep hills. We halted in a very large valley where there was much pasture and water. Here we had to construct a bridge to cross the gully. I consider this a good place for a mission.

The 31st, we proceeded for four hours; near the camp we found much water with a great deal of pasture which had grown [so tall] that the animals had to jump in order to get through it. Here we rested [for one day]. We experienced six or seven severe earthquakes. In this valley we discovered, on the south side between two mountains, a spring that flowed like a river, giving evidence of deep soil.

The 2nd, we proceeded for three hours on a good road, and halted near a river about fourteen yards wide. On this day we felt four or five earthquakes. Aug.

The 3rd, we proceeded for three hours on a good road; to the right of it were extensive swamps of bitumen which is called *chapapote*. We debated whether this substance, which flows melted from underneath the earth, could occasion so many earthquakes. We had much pasture, water, and an abundance of antelope and deer. Here [the inhabitants of] a village of about thirty natives appeared [at our camp]; they gave us presents and we made them a suitable return.

The 4th, we proceeded for two hours and a half on a good road. Sufficient water and pasture. [We halted at a place] occupied by a village of thirty natives; they made us a present of nuts and acorns and we made them a suitable return.

The 5th, we proceeded for four hours over hills, as the mountain range obstructed our progress by the sea. In this place we found an Indian village of about sixty inhabitants; they made us a present of much grain. Here we rested [for one day] and over two hundred natives came [to our camp] with much grain;

- gentiles con muchas semillas, son mui dociles, y desinteresados⁵⁴
 4 y se les correspondio.

El 7 handuvimos tres horas atrabessando una cañada, se para al pie de unos cerros de bastante agua, y pasto.

El 8. handuvimos seis horas por una sierra de las mas altas, y empinadas, y paramos en un arroyo de mucha agua, y pasto á donde salieron algunos gentiles⁵⁵ rogandonos pasasemos á su rancheria que estava inmediata, donde se encontraron ocho rancherias juntas, con mucha prevencion de semillas, que compondria el numero⁵⁶ de gentiles mas de 300 personas; aqui se hizo descanso en donde se halla una rancheria como de cincuenta gentiles.

El 10. desengañados de poder seguir el rumbo del norueste por la infinidad de sierras altas, y asperas, sin poderles encontrar passo, se resolvio baxarnos á la marina que és el rumbo del poniente, y ver de poder descavezar tantos obstaculos como presentan estas sierras, que todas ban á rematar á la marina, hemos handado tres leguas por un arroyo de bastante pasto y agua.

- El 11 handuvimos tres horas por el mismo arroyo que vá á salir al mar, de mucho pasto, y agua, aqui acudieron⁵⁷ como
 3 unos quinientos gentiles nos regalaron de muchas . . .

- El 12 handuvimos tres horas por una cañada donde havia un arroyo grande de agua, y mucho pasto, y una rancheria de
 3 quarenta personas.

- El 13 handuvimos tres horas por la misma cañada buscando el mar, y passamos [paramos] en un arroyo de bastante agua, y mucho pasto, aqui se encontró una rancheria⁵⁸ de quarenta
 3 personas.

El 14 handuvimos tres horas, y benimos á salir á la Canal de Santa Barbara en donde se há hallado un pueblo de treinta y tantas cassas, y como trescientos gentiles; inmediatamente que⁵⁹ nos bieron despacharon tres canoas á pescar, y nos regalaron de mucho pescado; estas canoas aunque estrechas son de ocho baras de largo bien hechas, y construidas de tablas.

El 15 handuvimos dos horas por la playa paramos cerca de un pueblo de ocho cassas sin agua, ni pasto.

⁵⁴ desinteress^{des}

⁵⁸ Ranch^a

⁵⁵ Gent^{es}

⁵⁹ q^{ue}

⁵⁶ num^{ero}

⁵⁷ acud^{ieron}

they are very docile and generous and we made them a suitable ¹⁷⁶⁹ return.

Aug.

The 7th, we proceeded for three hours, crossing a canyon. We halted at the foot of some hills where there was sufficient water and pasture.

The 8th, we proceeded for six hours over one of the highest and steepest mountains and halted in a gully where there was much water and pasture. Some natives appeared and begged us to go to their village which was near; there we found eight villages together—which must have numbered more than three hundred inhabitants—with a great supply of grain. We rested [for one day] where there was a village of about fifty natives.

The 10th, undeceived in regard to the possibility of following the route to the northwest on account of the endless number of high and rugged mountains through which it was impossible to discover a pass, we resolved to descend to the shore which here runs to the west, and see if it was possible, as all of them ended at the shore, to avoid such great obstacles as were presented by these mountains. We have come three leagues through a gully which has sufficient pasture and water.

The 11th, we proceeded for three hours through the same gully which runs into the sea. Much pasture and water. Here about five hundred natives came [to our camp and] made us a present of many . . .

The 12th, we proceeded for three hours through a canyon where there was a large gully of water and much pasture, and a village of forty inhabitants.

The 13th, we proceeded for three hours through the same canyon, endeavoring to reach the sea, and halted in a gully where there was sufficient water and much pasture. Here we came upon a village of forty inhabitants.

The 14th, we proceeded for three hours and came out on the Santa Bárbara channel where we found a town of thirty or more houses and about three hundred natives. Immediately upon seeing us they sent out three canoes to fish and made us a present of many fish. These canoes, though narrow, are eight yards in length, well made, and constructed of boards.

The 15th, we proceeded for two hours along the seashore. We halted near a town of eight houses. No water or pasture.

El 16 handuvimos tres horas siempre por la orilla del mar, y emos parado en parage de poco pasto: en este parage hay un pueblo que tiene treinta y tantas casas hechas de tule, tiene este pueblo passadas de 300 personas, han acudido diferentes gentiles de las islas que tenemos en frente; en este pueblo hay siete canoas bien construidas ocho varas de largo, una de ancho, y en lugar de clabos amarran las tablas con cordeles, y bien embreadas, nos regalaron mucho pescado.

El 17. handuvimos dos horas, buen camino, paramos en la orilla del mar, hay un pueblo que⁶⁰ tenia 38 cassas, y como 300 personas con sus siete canoas de madera, mui buenas, mucho
2 pasto, y agua.

El 18 de Agosto anduvimos cinco horas por la playa; paramos en un pueblo que tenia quarenta⁶¹ y tantas cassas avitadas de mas 500 gentiles, nos regalaron mucho pescado se les correspondio: tenia este pueblo diez canoas, á mas de esto havia á su becindad dos pueblos arruinados, y dessamparados por haverse aniquilado entre ellos mismos.

El 19 de Agosto anduvimos una hora, pasto, y agua, aqui
1½ binieron como veinte y tantos gentiles se les regaló de abalorios.

El 20 de Agosto andubimos quatro horas durante esta jornada hemos encontrado siete pueblos, el que menos de veinte cassas, el maior passa de ochenta cassas, en donde se han visto, como 800 gentiles, mucho pasto, agua, y arboleda, nos regalaron mucha comida, y nos cortejaron⁶² mucha en musica, y bayles.

El 21 de Agosto anduvimos tres horas siempre por el mar, y paramos frente de dos pueblos, como de sessenta⁶³ cassas cada uno, avitado como de 800 gentiles, acudieron al real⁶⁴ con sus capitanes, nos regalaron mucho pescado, mucho pasto, y agua con muchissima arboleda, y tienen estos dos lugares muchissimas canoas: se reconocenno corren mui bien estos pueblos, aunque ellos parecen dociles pero hemos atribuido á que no gustan que pasemos por dichos⁶⁵ pueblos, por que no se les regale abalorios, viven estos gentiles mas racionalmente que otros pues muchos

⁶⁰ q^a
⁶⁴ R¹

⁶¹ quar^{ta}
⁶⁵ dhos

⁶² cortej^o

⁶³ Sess^a

The 16th, we proceeded for three hours, the whole time along the beach, and have halted in a place where there is little pasture. In this place there is a town which has thirty or more houses made of rushes; the town has more than three hundred inhabitants. There have come [to our camp] some natives from the islands off the coast. In the town there are seven canoes, well built, eight yards in length and one in width and, in lieu of nails, they fasten the boards with cords and pay them well with tar. They made us a present of many fish. 1769
Aug.

The 17th, we proceeded for two hours; a good road. We halted on the beach. [Here] there was a town which had thirty-eight houses and about three hundred inhabitants with seven very fine canoes of wood. Much pasture and water.

The 18th of August, we proceeded for five hours along the seashore. We halted in a town which had forty or more houses inhabited by over five hundred natives; they made us a present of many fish and we made them a suitable return. This town had ten canoes. Besides this [one] there were in the vicinity two [other] towns, ruined and deserted, [the inhabitants] having mutually exterminated each other.

The 19th of August, we proceeded for one hour. Pasture and water. Here about twenty or more natives came [to our camp]; we made them presents of glass beads.

The 20th of August, we proceeded for four hours. During this day's march we have come upon seven towns—the smallest having twenty, the largest, more than eighty houses—in which we have seen about eight hundred natives. Much pasture and water, and many trees. They made us a present of much food, and entertained us greatly with music and dancing.

The 21st of August, we proceeded for three hours, the whole time beside the ocean, and halted opposite two towns of about sixty houses each, inhabited by about eight hundred natives. They came to the camp with their chiefs and made us a present of many fish. Much pasture and water, with very many trees. These two places also have very many canoes. These towns, we saw, were not in a flourishing condition; although [the inhabitants] appeared to be docile, they did not wish us to pass through their towns, which we attributed to the fact that we gave them no glass beads. These natives live in a more civilized manner

de ellos duermen hasta en camas altas; en todos estos pueblos tienen sus cementerios, con la distincion que á los principales les ponen un palo mas alto, y si es muger en dicho⁶⁶ palo ponen coras, ó bateas, y si es hombre⁶⁷ la cavallera [cavellera], todos estos pueblos son mandados por tres, ó quatro capitanes, y uno manda á todos; todos estos mandones tienen dos mugeres⁶⁸ los demas una; aqui hubo descanso.

El 23 de Agosto anduvimos quatro horas, y media parte por la orilla del mar, paramos en un pueblo de 80 cassas, el numero de gentiles que vimos seria como de 400 mucha agua corriente, y pasto, nos regalaron de muchissimo pescado, y lo primero que solicitan en toda esta canal, es que se les permita baylar; lo que⁶⁹ se les concede a trueque de no descontentarlos.

El 24 de Agosto anduvimos tres horas y media⁷⁰ aunque algo llano el camino, muchas barrancas ocasionadas⁷¹ de los derramaderos de las aguas de la sierra, hemos parado en un pueblo que se componia de cincuenta casas avitado con mas de 300 gentiles, nos regalaron mucho pescado, tuvimos mucho pasto, y agua.

El 25 marchamos tres horas; se hubo de abrir camino á un cerro mui alto, y todo el camino fue precisso para poder passar los arroyos secos, y tan hondos como estaban, hemos parado á un pueblo que havia 25 cassas avitado de 130 gentiles, mucha agua pero poco pasto: tenia este pueblo algunas canoas, se encuentra esta gentilidad todos los dias mas docil.

El 26 de Agosto anduvimos tres horas . . . del mar toda la jornada fue precisso travaxassen las barras, y azadones paramos en un pueblo de cincuenta cassas avitado como de 150 gentiles havia bastante pasto, y agua.

El 27 anduvimos tres horas, bastante, buen camino, á excepcion de algunas barrancas que se huvieron de componer; paramos en un pueblo de 30 cassas avitado de 200 gentiles havia un arroyo mui grande de mucho pasto, y agua aqui fue donde se halló la Punta de la Concepcion segun señas de Cabrera en 35 grados y medio.

⁶⁶ dho
⁷⁰ m^a

⁶⁷ homb^o
⁷¹ ocasion^{das}

⁶⁸ mug^{as}

⁶⁹ q^o

than the others as many of them sleep in bedsteads. In all these towns they have cemeteries, [in which poles are raised over the graves] with the distinction that for the chiefs they raise a higher pole, and, if it is [the grave of] a woman, they hang baskets or wooden bowls on the pole, if that of a man, the hair [sacrificed by his relatives]. All these towns are ruled over by three or four chiefs and one [chief] rules over them all. Every chief has two wives while other men have one. Here we rested [for one day].

1769
Aug.

The 23rd of August, we proceeded for four hours and a half, part of the way along the beach. We halted in a town of eighty houses and the number of natives that we saw was about four hundred. Much running water and pasture. They made us a present of great quantities of fish, and the first thing they entreat, all along this channel, is that they be permitted to dance; this we conceded so as not to displease them.

The 24th of August, we proceeded for three hours and a half; although the road was fairly level, there were many gorges made by the flow of the water from the mountains. We have halted in a town which is composed of fifty houses inhabited by more than three hundred natives. They made us a present of many fish. We had much pasture and water.

The 25th, we marched for three hours. We had to open a road on a very high hill, and all the way it was necessary [to do this] in order to cross the dry gullies, so great was their depth. We have halted in a town which has twenty-five houses inhabited by one hundred and thirty natives. Much water, but little pasture. This town had several canoes. We find the natives more docile every day.

The 26th of August, we proceeded for three hours . . . of the ocean. [During] the whole day's march it was necessary to work with crowbars and pickaxes. We halted in a town of fifty houses inhabited by about one hundred and fifty natives; the place had sufficient pasture and water.

The 27th, we proceeded for three hours; a fairly good road, with the exception of several gorges which had to be crossed. We halted in a town of thirty houses inhabited by two hundred natives. The place had a very large gully with much pasture and water. It was here that we found the Punta de la Concepción—according to the indications given by Cabrera Bueno—in 35° 30' [north latitude].

El 28 marchamos tres horas buen camino á excepcion de algunos arroyos que havia que⁷² componer, paramos en un pueblo
3 cerca del mar avitado de 60 gentiles con mucho pasto y agua.

El 29 de Agosto anduvimos como tres horas y media parte del camino bueno, pero lo restante de unos meganos de arena mui grandes paramos en una cañada extraviada del rumbo para buscar agua á penas hubo para las personas.

El 30 anduvimos hora y media⁷³ parte por la playa; se hizo esta jornada corta para que la cavalleria pudiesse repararsse de la falta de agua que havia padecido, aqui acudio una ran-
1½ cheria como de 50 personas.

El 1. de Septiembre⁷⁴ handubimos quatro horas y media siempre por el monte con muchissimos meganos de arena; paramos en una posa grandissima de agua, donde havia immediatas
4½ dos rancherias que serian como de cien gentiles.

El 2 handubimos cinco horas por montes mui arenosos y paramos en una posa mui grande, acudieron de sus immediaciones⁷⁵ dos rancherias que se compondrian como de sessenta
5 gentiles⁷⁶ aqui hubo descansso.

El quatro anduvimos quatro horas, la maior parte buen camino, y lo restante junto á la playa con unos grandes meganos de arena, y ha sido precisso rodear por las muchas lagunas, y esteros que han dado mucho travaxo con mucha agua, y pasto en donde acudio una rancheria que tenia como quarenta gentiles sin otras que havia en sus immediaciones; aqui nos hallamos al pie de la Sierra de Santa Lucia reparandose que las rancherias son menos numerosas de gente, y no avitan en casas formales
4 como en la canal, pero su docilidad maior.

El 5 caminamos quatro horas, todo el camino fue de cerros, paramos en un arroyo de mucha agua, y pasto rodeado de unos
4 cerros altissimos: el 6 descansó.

El 7 se handuvo 5 horas parte por cerros, y lo restante por una cañada en donde se vieron catorce á diez y seis ojos [osos]

⁷² q^a

⁷³ m^a

⁷⁴ Septiem.

⁷⁵ immediaz⁷⁶

⁷⁶ gentil^a

The 28th, we marched for three hours on a good road, with the exception of some gullies which had to be crossed. We halted in a town near the sea inhabited by sixty natives, where there was much pasture and water. 1769
Aug.

The 29th of August, we proceeded for about three hours and a half; part of the road was good, but the remainder was over very large sand dunes. We halted in a canyon which was out of our way in order to find water, [but] there was hardly enough for the men.

The 30th, we proceeded for one hour and a half, part of the way along the seashore. This was made a short day's march in order that the animals might recover from their sufferings on account of the lack of water. Here [the inhabitants of] a village of about fifty persons came [to our camp].

The 1st of September, we proceeded for four hours and a half, Sept. the whole time over a mountainous road with very many sand dunes. We halted at a very large pool of water, near which there were two villages of about one hundred natives.

The 2nd, we proceeded for five hours over very sandy hills and halted at a very large pool. [The inhabitants of] two villages of the neighborhood which were composed of about sixty natives came [to our camp]. Here we halted [for one day].

The 4th, we proceeded for four hours, the greater part of the road was good; the remainder, close to the seashore, was over great sand dunes. It was necessary to go around the many marshes and lagoons, which gave us much labor. [We halted at a place having] much water and pasture, where there came [to our camp the inhabitants of] a village of about forty natives without [counting] others who were in the neighborhood. Here we found ourselves at the foot of the Sierra de Santa Lucía. We observed that the villages have a small number of inhabitants, and that these do not live in regular houses as [do the Indians] on the channel, but they are more docile.

The 5th, we travelled for four hours; the entire way was over hills. We halted in a gully, surrounded by very high hills, where there was much water and pasture. The 6th, we rested.

The 7th, we proceeded for five hours; part of the way was over hills and the remainder through a canyon in which we saw from

5 juntos, y se mataron algunos, se paró en un arroyo de bastante
agua y pasto.

2 El 8 caminamos dos horas, paramos en una cañada cerca de
la playa de mucho pasto y agua en donde havia una rancheria
como de sessenta personas.

4 El nueve handuvimos quatro horas por la plaia y paramos
en un estero, donde havia un arroyo que⁷⁷ baxava de los cerros,
haviendosse encontrado en dicha⁷⁷ jornada seis arroyos mas cor-
rientes.

2 El 10. handuvimos dos horas por una cañada, y hemos pa-
rado en un arroyo mui poblado de arboleda rodeado todo de
montes de pinos.

3 El 11 anduvimos tres horas todo el camino fue de cerros
con muchissimo pasto, y agua.

3½ El 12 anduvimos tres horas y media paramos en un arroyo
corriente donde acudio una rancheria como de treinta gentiles.

3 El 13 anduvimos tres horas por cerros, y paramos al pie de
una sierra mui alta, donde nos mantuvimos dos dias para
registrar su entrada sin otra que havia mas adelante que dis-
curriamos seria la Sierra de Santa Lucia[;] descansó dos dias.

2 El 16 handuvimos dos horas internandonos á la sierra, y
continuamente por un arroyo que formavan las sierras de uno
y otro lado, haviendo sido preciso enviar por delante soldados
è Indios para facilitar el paso que dio mucho trabajo, paramos
en una altura pequena en donde dicho⁷⁸ arroyo nos negó el
paso, y fue preciso detenerse para abrir camino por una sierra
altissima.

2 El 17 de Septiembre⁸⁰ se passó parte de la sierra haviendose
abierto el camino, y á las dos horas se paró para de nuevo
abrir camino por otra sierra mas elevada en donde havia una
rancheria que⁸¹ se componia de 80 gentiles dosilissimos, en toda
esta sierra hay mucho pasto y agua, aqui se descansó el 18. y
el 19 para romper nuevo camino.

El 20 marchamos quatro horas por sierras como digo eleva-
dissimas, todo el camino fue preciso abrirlo siendo lo mas tra-
vaxoso el desmontar tantos asperos breñales, teniendo mucha
razon la historia de Cabrerabueno en poner la Sierra de Santa⁸²

⁷⁷ q°
⁸¹ q°

⁷⁸ dha
⁸² S^{ta}

⁷⁹ dho

⁸⁰ Septiem°

fourteen to sixteen bears together, some of which we killed. We stopped in a gully where there was sufficient water and pasture. We 1769
Sept.

The 8th, we travelled for two hours. We halted in a canyon near the seashore where there was much pasture and water, and in which there was a village of about sixty inhabitants.

The 9th, we proceeded for four hours along the seashore and halted at a lagoon where a stream came down from the hills. On this day's march we had crossed six very rapid streams.

The 10th, we proceeded for two hours through a canyon and have halted in a gully, thickly grown with trees and entirely surrounded by pine woods.

The 11th, we proceeded for three hours; the entire road was over hills where there was very much pasture and water.

The 12th, we proceeded for three hours and a half. We halted in a gully with running water where [the inhabitants of] a village of about thirty natives came [to our camp].

The 13th, we proceeded for three hours over hills and halted at the foot of a very high range. Here we remained for two days to search for an opening [through the range]; unless there was another [range] further on, we inferred that this must be the Sierra de Santa Lucía. We rested for two days.

The 16th, we proceeded for two hours, penetrating the range, and continuously along a gully formed by the mountains on either side. It was necessary to send soldiers and Indians in advance to open the way, which occasioned much labor. We halted on a small elevation where the gully denied us a passage; it was necessary to stop in order to open a path over a very high ridge.

The 17th of September, we crossed part of the range, having opened the path, and, at two o'clock, we halted in order to begin to open a road over another and still higher range. Here there was a village composed of eighty very docile natives. All over this range there is much pasture and water. Here we remained the 18th and 19th to cut a new road.

The 20th, we marched for four hours over mountains which, as I say, are very high. All the way, a path had to be opened; the most laborious part being to clear the many rough places full of brambles. The account of Cabrera Bueno has good reason for describing the Sierra de Santa Lucía as being so high, rugged,

Lucia tan alta, aspera, y gruesa, pues discurrio que⁸³ otra maior no se pueda encontrar, como por lo larga que tendrá 20 leguas, y por lo ancho 16; paramos en un barranco de poca agua y

4

pasto, aqui acudieron como quatrocientos⁸⁴ gentiles.
El 21 anduvimos dos horas tuvimos que⁸⁵ torcer de rumbo por no dar passo la sierra haviendose de abrir camino, y se paró en un arroyo, aqui se descansó el 22 y el 23 se empleo en salir

2

a . . .

El 24 caminamos dos horas baxandonos por el rumbo del nordeste para huir las molestas quiebras de la falda de la impenetrable sierra; paramos en un arroyo de bastante agua, y

2

pasto en donde havia una rancheria como de sessenta gentiles.
El 25 anduvimos hora y media costeano siempre dicha⁸⁶

1½

sierra paramos donde no havia ni agua ni pasto.
El 26 handuvimos quatro horas costeano dichas⁸⁷ sierras, y paramos en un rio en donde acudio una rancheria⁸⁸ de 220

4

gentiles sin otra que se encontró en el camino de 200.

5

El 27 handuvimos cinco horas siempre por el mismo rio.

5

El 28 handuvimos cinco horas por⁸⁹ el mismo rio.
El 29 anduvimos quatro horas por el mismo rio en donde

4

havia una rancheria pero se escapó.
El 30 handuvimos cinco horas por el mismo rio que discurriamos si podia sér el Carmelo.

El 1º Octubre⁹⁰ handuvimos una hora que fue hasta cerca del desembocadero de dicho⁹¹ rio, aqui hizo alto la expedicion cinco dias para explorar el rodeo que havia caussado dicha⁹² sierra, todos haviamos consentido⁹³ en que sin duda hallariamos el Puerto de Monterrey.

1

El 7 handuvimos dos horas y media por pantanos y lagunas: aqui se celebró la junta pedida por el Comandante de la expedicion la que incluio.

2½

El 8 handuvimos quatro horas siempre huyendo los pantanos, y lagunas: aqui se encontro una rancheria de gentiles segun dixerón los exploradores⁹⁴ pero quando llegó todo el real⁹⁵ se escaparon, descansó el 9.

⁸³ q°

⁸⁷ dhas

⁹¹ dho

⁹⁵ R¹

⁸⁴ quatroz^{tos}

⁸⁸ Rancher^a

⁹² dha

⁸⁵ q°

⁸⁹ p°

⁹³ consent^{do}

⁸⁶ dha

⁹⁰ octub°

⁹⁴ explorad^{os}

and massive. We inferred that we could not possibly find any greater range as this was twenty leagues long and sixteen wide. We halted in a gorge where there was little water and pasture; here about four hundred natives came[to our camp]. 1769
Sept.

The 21st, we proceeded for two hours. We had to change our route as the range denied us a passage. It was necessary to open a trail and we halted in a gully. Here we rested the 22nd; the 23rd was spent in going out to . . .

The 24th, we travelled for two hours, descending in a northeasterly direction in order to avoid the vexatious inequalities of the slope of the impassable mountains. We halted in a gully where there was sufficient water and pasture, and a village of about sixty natives.

The 25th, we proceeded for an hour and a half, the whole time skirting the mountains. We halted where there was neither water nor pasture.

The 26th, we proceeded for four hours, skirting these mountains, and halted by a river where[the inhabitants of]a village of two hundred and twenty natives came[to our camp] besides [those of]another village that we met on the way, numbering two hundred.

The 27th, we proceeded for five hours, keeping along the same river.

The 28th, we proceeded for five hours along the same river.

The 29th, we proceeded for four hours along the same river. There was a village but[on seeing us the inhabitants]fled.

The 30th, we proceeded for five hours along the same river; we debated whether it could be the Carmelo.

The 1st of October, we proceeded for an hour, which brought us near the mouth of the river. Here the expedition remained for five days to explore the circuit made by the mountains. We all agreed that, undoubtedly, we would find the Port of Monterey. Oct.

The 7th, we proceeded for two hours and a half through marshes and swamps. Here was held the council called by the commander of the expedition,[the report of]which is enclosed.

The 8th, we proceeded for four hours, constantly avoiding the marshes and swamps. Here there was an Indian village, according to the report of the pioneers; but, when the entire expedition reached the place, the inhabitants fled. We rested the 9th.

El 10 caminamos como hora y media á caussa de haverase agravado los enfermos, y ser preciso darles los Sacramentos; aqui paramos quatro dias.

El 15 anduvimos hora y media a caussa de los enfermos, y
1½ paramos en una laguna de mucha agua y pasto.

El 16. anduvimos dos horas, y paramos en la orilla de un
2 rio con mui poco pasto.

El 17 caminamos dos horas y media parte por cañada entre sierras, y lo restante buen camino haviendose encontrado muchos aguages, y dos rios; paramos cerca del uno inmediato al mar en donde digeron los exploradores podian arrimarse embarcaciones⁹⁶ pequeñas resguardadas del norte.
2½

El 18 handuvimos quatro horas costeano el mar, en esta jornada se passó varios aguages, paramos á la orilla de un arroyo que hacia á la mar un estero el que por estar crecido nos detuvo pues el deshého para arriva era barrancoso, y mucho bosque, en este parage havia una caleta resguardada del
4 norte para embarcaciones pequeñas.

El 19 caminamos quatro y media⁹⁷ horas cerca del mar tuvo que componerse diferentes barrancos que havian caussado las aguas; paramos en un riachuelo que desagua á la mar en donde havia una rancheria que á nuestra llegada la encontramos
4½ dessamparada.

El 20. caminamos 3½ horas cerca de la marina, y paramos en un arroyo de mucha agua, y pasto, aqui se descansó dos dias
3½ por havernos llovido.

El 23 caminamos dos horas y media⁹⁸ paramos en un arroyo con mucha agua, y pasto, en donde havia una rancheria de
2½ 200 gentiles.

El 24 caminamos siete horas mal camino paramos en un arroyo de bastante agua en donde havia una rancheria de
7 ochenta gentiles, aqui paramos dos dias.

El 27 caminamos dos horas y media mal camino paramos
2½ en un arroyo abundante de agua y pasto.

El 28 caminamos dos horas cerca de la [del] mar paramos en un arroyo de bastante agua, y pasto aqui hubo descanso un
2 dia por estar lloviendo.

⁹⁶ embarcaz⁹⁶⁹⁷ m⁹⁷⁹⁸ m⁹⁸

The 10th, we travelled for about an hour and a half because the sick had become worse and it was necessary to administer the sacraments to them. Here we remained for four days. 1769
Oct.

The 15th, we proceeded for an hour and a half because of the sick and halted in a swamp where there was much water and pasture.

The 16th, we proceeded for two hours, and halted on the bank of a river where there was very little pasture.

The 17th, we travelled for two hours and a half; part of the way was through a canyon between mountains and the remainder on a good road. We found many watering-places and two rivers. We halted beside one of these rivers, close to the sea, where the pioneers declared that it would be possible for small ships to lie sheltered to northward.

The 18th, we proceeded for four hours, skirting the ocean. On this day's march, we passed several watering-places. We halted on the bank of a gully which forms a lagoon where it flows into the sea; as the stream was swollen we were detained, for higher up the banks were precipitous and thickly wooded. At this place, there was a cove for small vessels, sheltered to northward.

The 19th, we travelled for four hours and a half, close to the sea; we had to cross several gorges that had been washed out by the rains. We halted beside a small river that flows into the sea. There was a village which, on our arrival, we found deserted.

The 20th, we travelled for three hours and a half near the shore and halted in a gully where there was much water and pasture. Here we rested for two days on account of the rain.

The 23rd, we travelled for two hours and a half. We halted in a gully where there was much water and pasture, and a village of two hundred natives.

The 24th, we travelled for seven hours on a bad road. We halted in a gully where there was sufficient water and a village of eighty natives. Here we remained for two days.

The 27th, we travelled for two hours and a half on a bad road. We halted in a gully where there was plenty of water and pasture.

The 28th, we travelled for two hours near the ocean. We halted in a gully where there was sufficient water and pasture. Here we had to remain for one day on account of the rain.

El 30 caminamos dos horas y media⁹⁹ en donde fue preciso componer algunos arroyos, y hacer dos puentes, paramos á la marina con bastante agua pero sin leña.

El 31 caminamos dos horas de mui mal camino de subidas en una sierra mui alta, paramos á lo alto aqui acudieron 25 gentiles, y se despachó al sargento, y ocho soldados . . . a explorar por haver visto unos farallones, y una punta de tierra, y ensenada, nos hallavamos cerca del Puerto¹⁰⁰ de San Francisco segun la historia de Cabrera, aqui nos detuvimos quatro dias.

El 4 de Noviembre¹⁰¹ caminamos tres horas todo mal camino paramos sin agua.

El 5 caminamos quatro horas mal camino y lo restante por una cañada llana donde corre un gran brazo de mar de 16 á 20 leguas, el qual dicen los exploradores hace un puerto abrigado con dos islas en el medio, paramos sin agua.

El 6 caminamos costeanado dicho¹⁰² brazo de mar ó puerto, y paramos en un llano poblado de muchas encinas, muchos esteros, y lagunas, y rodeado de muchas rancherias en donde salieron 120 gentiles aqui tuvimos mucha agua, y pasto.

El 7 mandó el Capitan Don¹⁰³ Fernando de Ribera saliese el sargento, y ocho soldados á reconoz¹⁰⁴ costeanado siempre dicho¹⁰⁵ brazo de mar, ó puerto y haviendo buuelto á los quatro dias, y que no havia encontrado nada quedando dudossos en que si mas adelante podia hallar algo por cuio motivo viendome¹⁰⁶ en altura tan desmedida, y ninguna de las señas de Cabrera de Puerto de Monterrey hice alto, . . . resolvio dicha¹⁰⁷ junta retrocediesse la expedicion, y se buscasse con mas proligidad¹⁰⁸ el puerto lo que se executó, é incluio dicha¹⁰⁹ junta.

Retrocedio la expedicion en 11 de Noviembre parte por las mismas jornadas procurandose á buscar otro camino por ver si seria mas corto, en este dia handuvimos cinco horas por el mismo camino.

⁹⁹ m ^a	¹⁰⁰ p ^{to}	¹⁰¹ Noviem ^o	¹⁰² dho
¹⁰³ d ^a	¹⁰⁴ reconoz ^r	¹⁰⁵ dho	¹⁰⁶ viend ^{mo}
¹⁰⁷ dha	¹⁰⁸ prolíg ^d	¹⁰⁹ dha	

The 30th, we travelled for two hours and a half; on the road it was necessary to cross several gullies and to make two bridges. We halted on the shore, having sufficient water but no fire-wood. 1769
Oct.

The 31st, we travelled for two hours on a very bad road up the slopes of a very high mountain. We halted on the summit where twenty-five natives came[to our camp]and the sergeant with eight soldiers was sent . . . to explore. Having seen some small islands, a point of land, and a bay,[we decided that]we were in the neighborhood of the Port of San Francisco as described in the account of Cabrera Bueno. Here we remained for four days.

The 4th of November, we travelled for three hours; the entire road was bad. We halted without water. Nov.

The 5th, we travelled for four hours[part of the way]on a bad road and the remainder through a level canyon. [Before us] extended a great arm of the sea, sixteen to twenty leagues[in extent], which the pioneers said formed a sheltered port with two islands in the middle. We halted without water.

The 6th, we travelled, skirting the shore of this arm of the sea or port and halted in a level place, thickly grown with oak trees, [having]many lagoons and swamps, and surrounded by many villages from which there came out[to meet us]one hundred and twenty natives. Here we had much water and pasture.

The 7th, Captain Fernando de Rivera commanded the sergeant and eight soldiers to go out and explore. All the time[they were gone]they skirted the shore of this arm of the sea or port; they returned after four days and[reported]that they had found nothing, leaving us in doubt as to whether we could find anything farther on. For this reason, seeing that we were in too high a latitude and without any of the indications of the Port of Monterey as given by Cabrera Bueno, we halted . . . the council decided that the expedition should return and that the port should be sought for with greater care. This[decision]was acted upon and[the report of]the council is enclosed.

The expedition turned back on the 11th of November[making its way]partly by the same marches,[but]endeavoring always to find another road to see if it would be shorter. On this day we proceeded for five hours over the road by which we had come.

- El 12 handuvimos cinco horas por el mismo camino y la
 5 misma jornada.
 2½ El 13 handuvimos 2½ por el mismo camino.
 2½ El 14 anduvimos 2½ horas por el mismo camino y jornada.
 3 El 15 anduvimos tres horas por el mismo camino, y jornada.
 El 16 handuvimos tres horas y media¹¹⁰ habiendo hecho jor-
 3½ nada y media.
 El 17 handuvimos jornada y media que fue de quatro horas
 4 por el mismo camino.
 El 18 handuvimos jornada y media¹¹¹ que seria de quatro
 4 horas por el mismo camino.
 3 El 19 la misma jornada, y camino que seria de tres horas.
 El 20 handuvimos quatro horas y media¹¹² haciendo dos jor-
 4½ nadas por el mismo camino.
 3½ El 21 handuvimos dos jornadas que serian de 3 horas y media.
 El 22 handuvimos jornada y media que seria de 3½ horas: el
 23 descanso.
 El 24 handuvimos dos jornadas de quatro horas por el mismo
 camino.
 4 El 25 handuvimos á la Punta de Pinos que fue de 4 horas.
 El 26 handuvimos dos horas y media al pie de la Sierra de
 Santa Lucia, paramos como havia determinado la junta, donde
 salio el Capitan Don Fernando de Rivera á bolver á explorar
 dicha¹¹³ sierra internando mas en ella quanto pudo, y dio cuenta

110 m^a111 m^a112 m^a

113 dha

The 12th, we proceeded for five hours over the road by which we had come and[made]the same distance[as on the outward journey]. 1769
Nov.

The 13th, we proceeded for two hours and a half over the road by which we had come.

The 14th, we proceeded for two hours and a half over the road by which we had come and[made]the same distance[as on the outward journey].

The 15th, we proceeded for three hours over the road by which we had come and[made]the same distance[as on the outward journey].

The 16th, we proceeded for three hours and a half having made[the same distance as in]a march and a half[on the outward journey].

The 17th, we proceeded[as far as in]a march and a half[on the outward journey]which was four hours[travel]over the road by which we had come.

The 18th, we proceeded[as far as in]a march and a half[on the outward journey]which was four hours[travel] over the road by which we had come.

The 19th,[we made]the same distance[as on the outward journey]over the road by which we had come, which was three hours[travel].

The 20th, we proceeded for four hours and a half making[the same distance as in]two marches[on the outward journey], over the road by which we had come.

The 21st, we proceeded[as far as in]two marches[on the outward journey]which was three and a half hours[travel].

The 22nd, we proceeded[as far as in]a march and a half[on the outward journey]which was three and a half hours[travel]. The 23rd we rested.

The 24th, we proceeded for two marches[of the outward journey, which took]four hours over the road by which we had come.

The 25th, we proceeded to the Punta de Pinos, which took four hours.

The 26th, we proceeded for two hours and a half to the foot of the Sierra de Santa Lucía. We halted, as the council had decided. Here Captain Fernando de Rivera set out to explore this range again; he penetrated it as much further[than on the

no haver encontrado dicho¹¹⁴ Puerto de Monterrey desde la buelta de las cercanias del Puerto de San Francisco¹¹⁵ se deshizo en 18 dias lo que costó á la ida quarenta y tres á causa de la multitud de enfermos.

2½ El dia 10 de Diciembre¹¹⁶ de [17]69 haviendose determinado regressase la expedicion á San Diego como consta de la tercera consulta que incluío, caminamos¹¹⁷ por la propia senda, y jornada que haviamos hecho á la yda, que seria de dos horas, y media paramos en una laguna cerca de la Punta de Pinos y en- senada donde se reconoce podia haver estado el Puerto de Mon- terrey.

El 11 caminamos la misma jornada por el mismo camino que¹¹⁸ seria de 6 horas.

El 12 caminamos cinco horas por el mismo camino y paramos en el mismo parage en donde havia una rancheria¹¹⁹ de quarenta gentiles.

El 13 caminamos seis horas por el mismo camino y propia jornada.

El 14 caminamos cinco horas, por el mismo camino y jornada.

El 15 caminamos cinco horas por el mismo parage y jornada, aqui se aparecio una rancheria como de 50 personas.

El 16 caminamos cinco y media¹²⁰ horas por el mismo camino, y jornada.

El 17 handuvimos dos jornadas de 4½ horas las mismas que haviamos hecho á la yda.

El 18 caminamos dos horas y media¹²¹ por la misma jornada, y camino encumbrando la sierra.

¹¹⁴ dho
¹¹⁸ q^a

¹¹⁵ San Fran^{co}
¹¹⁹ Rancher^a

¹¹⁶ Diciem^a
¹²⁰ m^a

¹¹⁷ caminam^a
¹²¹ m^a

outward journey] as he was able, and reported that he had not found the Port of Monterey. Since turning back from the neighborhood of the Port of San Francisco, we traversed again in eighteen days the [distance] that required forty-three on the outward journey because of the great number of sick. 1769
Nov.

The 10th of December, 1769, it having been decided that the expedition should return to San Diego as appears from [the report of] the third conference which is enclosed, we travelled by the path over which we had come and [covered the same] distance that we had on the outward journey, which was two hours and a half [travel]. We halted at a swamp near the Punta de Pinos and the bay which, it was thought, might have been the Port of Monterey. Dec.

The 11th, we travelled the same distance [as on the outward journey] over the road by which we had come, which was six hours [travel].

The 12th, we travelled for five hours over the road by which we had come, and halted at the same place [as before] where there was a village of forty natives.

The 13th, we travelled for six hours over the road by which we had come and [made] the same distance [as on the outward journey].

The 14th, we travelled for five hours over the road by which we had come and [made the same] distance [as on the outward journey].

The 15th, we travelled for five hours over the country through which we had come and [made the same] distance [as on the outward journey]; here we come upon a village of about fifty persons.

The 16th, we travelled for five hours and a half over the road by which we had come and [made the same] distance [as on the outward journey].

The 17th, we proceeded for four and a half hours [making] two marches [which were] the same that we had made on the outward journey.

The 18th, we travelled for two hours and a half [making] the same distance [as on the outward journey], and ascending the range [by] the road [over which we had come].

El 19 caminamos tres horas pasando lo mas aspero de la sierra en donde havia bastante nieve hicimos la misma jornada,
3 aqui hubo descanso un dia.

El 21 hicimos dos jornadas de las que antes teniamos hechas, y salimos de dicha¹²² sierra; aqui se presentó un arriero de los dos que se havian ydo desde la Punta de Pinos dando noticia quedava el otro en la sierra con tres Indios nuestros que estaban con el explicando ser la sierra mas aspera que havia visto en su vida, que con muchissimo trabajo havia podido pasar por la orilla del mar . . . en toda la orilla del mar, no tan solo señas de puerto, pero ni aun ensenadas, lo que nos acabó de sacar de la duda que no tenia ya nadie pudiese quedar dicho¹²³ puerto, en este dia se handuvo cinco horas, y se descansó el 22.

El 23 caminamos jornada y media¹²⁴ de las hechas á la benida que seria de quatro horas, y media¹²⁵ aqui aparecio una rancheria de 50 gentiles, y en la misma jornada vimos otra de
4½ quarenta.

El 24 handuvimos cinco horas, y hicimos jornada¹²⁶ y media de las antecedentes; aqui aparecio una rancheria de sessenta
5 perssonas que no vimos á la yda.

El 25 caminamos quatro horas, y media por el mismo camino
4½ aqui vimos 30 gentiles que no se havian visto á la yda.

El 26 caminamos seis horas, y hicimos dos jornadas de las
6 de yda; aqui se vieron 60 gentiles que no se havian visto antes.

El 27 handuvimos quatro horas por¹²⁷ la misma jornada; se paró en una cañada llamada de los oxos[osos] por los muchos que
4 havia; aqui nos llovio, por cuio motivo se descansó el 28.

El 29 caminamos tres horas por diferente rumbo que haviamos llevado á la ida; paramos en el plan que se le pusso de los berros; aqui se aparecio un gentil mui obsequioso, y temido

122 dha

123 dho

124 m^a125 m^a

The 19th, we travelled for three hours, passing the most difficult part of the range on which there was not a little snow; we made the same distance[as on the outward journey]. Here we rested one day. 1769
Dec.

The 21st, we made[the same distance as on]two of the marches that we had made on the previous journey and got out of these mountains. Here one of the two muleteers, that had deserted at the Punta de Pinos, presented himself[and]informed us that the other was still in the mountains with three of our Indians who were with him. He declared that this range was the most rugged that he had seen in his life,[and]that,[only]with the greatest labor, he had been able to make his way along the coast . . . on the whole coast, not only were there no indications of a port, but there were not even inlets; this information entirely removed the doubt, which[probably]no one now entertained, that the port might be there. This day we proceeded for five hours and rested on the 22nd.

The 23rd, we travelled[as far as in]a march and a half of those made in coming, which was four and a half hours[travel]. In this place we came upon a village of fifty natives and, on the same march, we saw another of forty.

The 24th, we proceeded for five hours and we made[a distance equal to]a march and a half on the previous journey. Here we came upon a village of sixty inhabitants which we did not see on the outward journey.

The 25th, we travelled for four hours and a half over the road by which we had come. Here we saw thirty natives that had not been seen on the outward journey.

The 26th, we travelled for six hours and made[the same distance as in]two of the marches on the outward journey. Here we saw sixty natives that we had not previously seen.

The 27th, we proceeded for four hours[making] the same distance[as on the outward journey]. We halted in a canyon called the Cañada de los Osos on account of the number[of bears]that it had. Here it rained and for this reason we rested on the 28th.

The 29th, we travelled for three hours by a route different from that we had taken on the outward journey. We halted in the plain which is named the Plan de los Berros. Here a most obsequious native came up and, being apprehensive among[us]

- entre todas . . . un presente de un texido entreverado de
 3 pluma hermosa y parecia en su orden felpa y muchas semillas.
 4 El 30 caminamos quatro horas la misma jornada, y camino.
 El 31 handuvimos cinco horas, la misma jornada¹²⁸ y camino.
 El 1° de Henero de 1770. handuvimos quatro¹²⁹ horas por el
 4 mismo camino y jornada.
 El 2 handubimos quatro horas por¹³⁰ el mismo camino y jor-
 4 nada.
 El 3 handuvimos quatro horas por¹³¹ el mismo camino y jor-
 4 nada.
 El 4 handubimos seis horas, se hicieron dos jornadas, las
 6 mismas que se havian hecho.
 El 5 handuvimos quatro horas por la orilla del mar que es
 4 yá la Canal de Santa Barbara, por el mismo camino y jornada.
 El 6 handuvimos como quatro horas por el mismo camino, y
 4 jornada, no faltó pescado para¹³² el real.¹³³
 El 7 caminamos como quatro horas la misma jornada, y
 4 camino, aqui se probeyó algo de pescado y semillas.
 El 8 handuvimos como quatro horas por el mismo camino, y
 4 jornada, tamvien se encontró algo de pescado.
 El 9 handuvimos como tres horas y media por el mismo ca-
 3½ mino, y jornada.
 El 10 handuvimos algo mas de tres jornadas de las hechas
 que seria como de 6 horas de camino, paramos en el pueblo de

¹²⁶ jorn^{da}
¹³⁰ p^r

¹²⁷ p^r
¹³¹ p^r

¹²⁸ jorn^{da}
¹³² p^{ra}

¹²⁹ quat^o
¹³³ Rⁱ

all . . . a present of a fabric interwoven with beautiful 1769
feathers which in its arrangement looked like plush[covered ^{Dec.}
with]countless little seeds.

The 30th, we travelled for four hours[and made]the same distance[as on the outward journey over the]road[by which we had come].

The 31st, we proceeded for five hours[and made]the same distance[as on the outward journey over the]road[by which we had come].

The 1st of January, 1770, we proceeded for four hours over 1770
the road by which we had come and[made the same]distance[as ^{Jan.}
on the outward journey].

The 2nd, we proceeded for four hours over the road by which we had come and[made the same]distance[as on the outward journey].

The 3rd, we proceeded for four hours over the road by which we had come and[made the same]distance[as on the outward journey].

The 4th, we proceeded for six hours and made[the same distance as in]two marches on the outward journey.

The 5th, we proceeded for four hours along the beach, which is that of the Santa Bárbara channel, over the road by which we had come, and[made the same]distance[as on the outward journey].

The 6th, we proceeded for about four hours over the road by which we had come and[made the same]distance[as on the outward journey]. There was no lack of fish for the camp.

The 7th, we travelled for about four hours[and made]the same distance[as on the outward journey]over the road by which we had come. Here we were provided with some fish and grain.

The 8th, we proceeded for about four hours over the road by which we had come and[made the same]distance[as on the outward journey]. Here]also, we obtained some fish.

The 9th, we proceeded for about three hours and a half over the road by which we had come and[made the same]distance[as on the outward journey].

The 10th, we proceeded[for a distance]somewhat greater than [we had made in]three marches on the outward journey, which was about six hours travel. We halted in the town of La

la Carpinteria, en donde esperavamos mucha provission de pescado, y quasi no hubo nada.

El 11 handuvimos como 6 horas algo mas de dos jornadas antecedentes, paramos en el ultimo pueblo que dexamos la canal, todo el tiempo que se há handado por dicha¹⁸⁴ canal hemos experimentado un temperamento¹⁸⁵ mui benigno, y quasi calor, esto en Henero con un cielo mui claro, lo que no tuvimos á la yda en el mes de Agosto, pues no se experimentó mas que neblinas y vientos.

El 12 caminamos mas de siete horas tomandose¹⁸⁶ diferente rumbo del que trugimos atravesando una sierra que hace punta á la mar, cerca por donde salimos de la canal haviendo handado un hermosissimo llano que hace el rio por donde antes haviamos ido paramos en una rancheria que se compondria de 40 gentiles.

El 13 caminamos como cinco horas siguiendo la derecera para el valle del encino, en donde el camino no fue mui bueno se paró en una rancheria¹⁸⁷ como de 50 gentiles.

El 14 caminamos como cinco horas por diferente camino, y paramos en una rancheria¹⁸⁸ que habria como treinta gentiles.

El 15 anduvimos siete horas de mal camino, y caimos al deseado llano del encino.

El 16 caminamos quatro horas tomando otro camino del que haviamos trahido, paramos en un corto aguage, y se encontró por el camino una rancheria como de sessenta gentiles.

El 17 handuvimos como cinco horas haciendo dos jornadas de las antecedentes, y salimos al llano de la puente, frente de la gran sierra nevada y passamos el rio nombrado de la Porci[ú]ncula.

El 18 handubimos como seis horas por diferente rumbo, que por ser mas corto se hicieron tres jornadas.

El 19 handuvimos cinco horas haciendosse dos jornadas de las mismas hechas á la ida, en este dia nos llovio mucho.

¹⁸⁴ dha

¹⁸⁸ Rancher^a

¹⁸⁵ temperam^{to}

¹⁸⁶ tomand^o

¹⁸⁷ Ranch^a

Carpintería where we expected [to find] a plentiful supply of fish, 1770
but it had hardly any. Jun.

The 11th, we proceeded for six hours [and made a distance] somewhat greater than in two marches on the previous journey. We halted in the last town before leaving the channel. All the time we have been moving along the [Santa Bárbara] channel we have experienced a very genial temperature and almost heat; this, too, in January with a perfectly clear sky which we did not have, in the month of August, on the outward journey, when we experienced nothing but fogs and winds.

The 12th, we travelled for more than seven hours, taking a route different from that by which we had come and crossing a range that projects into the sea. Near this we left the channel, having crossed a most beautiful level stretch made by the river along which we had come on the outward journey. We halted in a village of forty natives.

The 13th, we travelled for about five hours, following the direct road through the Valle del Encino where the road was not very good. We halted in a village of about fifty natives.

The 14th, we travelled for about five hours by a different road and halted in a village which had about thirty natives.

The 15th, we proceeded for seven hours on a bad road and descended to the Llano del Encino to which we had been looking forward.

The 16th, we travelled for four hours, taking a road different from that by which we had come. We halted where there was a small watering-place, having, on the way, come to a village of about sixty natives.

The 17th, we proceeded for about five hours, making [the same distance as in] two marches on the previous journey, and came out on the Llano de la Puente, opposite the great sierra of snow-covered mountains, and crossed the river which is called the Porciúncula.

The 18th, we proceeded for about six hours by a different route; as it was shorter, we made [the same distance as in] three marches [on the outward journey].

The 19th, we proceeded for five hours making [the same distance as in] two marches on the outward journey. On this day there was much rain.

El 20 se handuvieron cinco horas, se hicieron dos jornadas
5 por el mismo camino.

El 21 handuvimos como cinco horas por el mismo camino que
5 fue precisso, por ser menos la agua que á la yda.

El 22 hicimos cinco horas que fueron 2½ jornadas de las ante-
5 cedentes.

El 23 handuvimos como seis horas que fueron tres jornadas
6 de las primeras.

El 24 handubimos como 5 horas que¹³⁹ fueron dos jornadas de las antecedentes, en este dia se llevo a San Diego dando gracias á Dios de no haver perecido siquiera un hombre con tantos trabajos, y necesidades, se hán passado; pues hemos benido atenedos á nuestra buelta á la gran providencia de Dios, sin tener mas socorro humano, que en viendonos en extrema necesidad¹⁴⁰ matar mulas para nuestro precisso sustento.

Encontramos á San Diego con la escolta cabal de los ocho hombres de cuera que havia dejado, los tres padres havia, pero de los catorce voluntarios que havian quedado ocho muertos, y el San Carlos dado fondo en el mismo parage que lo dexamos, sin haver parecido ni San Joseph,¹⁴¹ ni el Principe en todo este tiempo que seria el uno ocho meses que devia salir de Huaimas, y el otro siete que estava fuera de este puerto, por cuio motivo por la falta de viveres se tubo junta y se resolvió para poder mantener mas este puerto saliesse el Capitan del Presidio Don¹⁴² Fernando de Ribera con una fuerte partida para que al mismo tiempo passase á Californias y condugesse el ganado que está destinado para esta mision y lo restante de la expedicion¹⁴³ mantener este puerto tan importante, esperando el consuelo de que Dios nos deje ver algun barco.

¹³⁹ q°

¹⁴³ exped^{on}

¹⁴⁰ necess^a

¹⁴¹ Jph

¹⁴² d°

The 20th, we proceeded for five hours; we made [the same distance as in] two marches [on the outward journey] over the road by which we had come. 1770
Jan.

The 21st, we proceeded for about five hours over the road by which we had come, which was necessary because there was less water than on the outward journey.

The 22nd, we made a march of five hours, [and made the same distance as in] two marches on the previous journey.

The 23rd, we proceeded for six hours [and made the same distance as in] three marches on the former journey.

The 24th, we proceeded for five hours, [and made the same distance as in] two marches on the previous journey. On this day we arrived at San Diego, giving thanks to God that, notwithstanding the great labors and privations we had undergone, not a single man had perished. Indeed we had accomplished our return march, through the great providence of God, without other human aid except that, when we were in dire need, we killed some mules for our necessary sustenance.

We found at San Diego that the three fathers were there with the entire guard of eight soldiers in leather jackets which had been left; but of the fourteen volunteers, who had remained, eight were dead. The *San Carlos* was anchored in the same place where we had left her; but, during all this time, neither the *San Joseph* nor *El Principe*, had arrived, although it was eight months since the former was to leave Guaymas and seven months since the latter had left this port. For this reason, and because of the lack of provisions, a council was held, and it was resolved that, in order to make it possible to hold this port longer, Don Fernando de Rivera, captain of the presidio [of Loreto], should set out with a strong force so that he might go to [Lower] California and also bring back the herd of cattle which was intended for this mission. The remainder of the expedition was to hold this important port, hoping that God might grant us the comfort of sighting some ship.

NUMERO¹ 1°—PRIMERA JUNTA DE GUERRA DE LA
EXPEDIZION² DE TIERRA QUE PASABE EN SOLICI-
TUD DEL PUERTO DE MONTERREY EN 4 DE OCTUBRE
DE 1769.

Copia Mui Señores mios: Oi hace ochenta y tres dias que há salido N° 1 esta expedicion de mi cargo del Puerto de San³ Diego, situado en 33 grados⁴ segun la cedula real⁵ para dirigirnos a nuestro⁶ destino de Monterrey situado en 37., y contemplando que no tan solo há sido tiempo suficiente, sino aun sobrado en el camino que émos andado para llegar a dicho⁷ destino, y que segun por la historia de Cabrera, por⁸ las señas que dá era infalible su hallada esperando de un instante para otro dicho⁹ puerto, y reconocido, solo hemos encontrado segun manifiesta el Capitan Don¹⁰ Fernando de Rivera que lo há ido à explorar, que lo que devia ser Rio Carmelo, es solo arroyo; y lo que devia ser puerto, una pequeña ensenada; y lo que era lagunas grandes, lagunillas, y lo que devia ser puerto solo una ensenada; confuso yá en la esperanza de hallar el puerto, y la llanura tan grande que manifiesta el pais, y que es preciso para encontrar dicho¹¹ puerto, si debemos creher la historia se há de encontrar primero la Sierra de Santa Lucia, para cuio viage reconosco es menester mucho tiempo, hè determinado nos juntémos todos los señores¹² oficiales mis compañeros, y resolbamos lo que mas importa al servicio de ambas magestades, y á nuestro¹³ onor; suplicando tambien a los Reverendos Padres¹⁴ Gomez, y Crespi se dignen asistir á dicha¹⁵ junta = Hago presente á Vñs hallarnos en el dia con onze soldados enfermos del mal de loanda, de estos, los ocho tullidos, que la estación del tiempo causará como es natural maiores efectos de esta

¹ N°	² Expediz°	³ S°	⁴ gr°
⁵ R ¹	⁶ nrō	⁷ dho	⁸ p ^r
⁹ dho	¹⁰ Cap° d°	¹¹ dho	¹² S ^{res}
¹³ nrē	¹⁴ RR. PP.	¹⁵ dhas	

NUMBER 1—FIRST COUNCIL OF WAR OF THE
LAND-EXPEDITION WHICH WENT IN SEARCH OF
THE PORT OF MONTEREY. HELD ON THE 4TH OF
OCTOBER, 1769.

Gentlemen: To-day eighty-three days have elapsed since this expedition, in accordance with the royal order, set out under my command from the Port of San Diego, situated in latitude 33°, to proceed to Monterey, our destination, situated in latitude 37°.

Considering that the time we have been on the road has not only been sufficient but longer than necessary to reach that destination; and considering that, according to the indications which Cabrera Bueno gives in his account, it was inevitable that we should find it;[now]having examined[the country], expecting every moment[to come upon]the port, we have only found, as Captain Fernando de Rivera who went to explore declares, that what should be the Carmelo River is merely a gully, and that what should be a port is a small inlet, that what were[described] as great lakes are mere ponds, and that what should be a port is only a bay;[I am, therefore,]now disturbed in the hope of finding the port, seeing so great a stretch of level ground as lies before us, and[considering]that—if we are to believe the account [of Cabrera Bueno]—in order to reach the port it is necessary that we first come to the Sierra de Santa Lucía, a journey for which, I recognise, much time is required,—I have decided to hold a council with all my fellow officers that we may determine what is best for the service of their Majesties, and most consistent with our honor. I have also requested Fathers Gomez and Crespi to be good enough to attend this council.

I call your attention to the fact that we find ourselves to-day with eleven soldiers sick with the scurvy—of whom eight are disabled—and that the season of the year will naturally produce greater effects of this sort. The provisions are reduced to fifty

especie. Los viveres se reducen à cinquenta costales de arina, doze tercios de carne, quatro de legumbres; doi esta noticia para . . . que combinadas todas las circunstancias se pueda deliberar con mas acierto, y Dios conserve á Vñs muchos y felizes años. Octubre quatro de mil setecientos sesenta y nueve años. B. L. M. de Vñs su áfecto y seguro servidor = Gaspar de Portolá = debemos firmar todos su parecer á continuacion; y si gustaren los Reverendos Padres¹⁶ haran lo mismo = A los Reverendos Padres¹⁷ [,] Padre¹⁸ Gomez, y Padre¹⁹ Crespi = Capitan Don²⁰ Fernando de Rivera = Capitan Don²¹ Pedro Fages = Señor Don²² Miguel Constansó.

Parecer de Don²³ Miguel Constansó, en virtud de la carta que²⁴ escribe el Comandante de la expedizion²⁵ dize lo siguiente. Que en atencion á no haberse encontrado el Puerto de Monterrey, segun todos podian presumir despues de haberse atravesado una sierra que con artículo²⁶ fundamento se creia ser la de Santa²⁷ Lucia pegada á la qual debe estar dicho²⁸ puerto, segun noticias antiguas infiere dicho²⁹ oficial, que se debe buscar el Puerto de Monterrey mas adelante = Al presente se considera, por³⁰ los treinta y seis grados y quarenta y dos minutos de latitud; el Puerto de Monterrey se dize estar en los treinta y siete grados, y tal vez puede pasar de ellos, por³¹ lo que seria bueno que se reconociese la costa hasta los treinta y siete, y medio, y espero que mediante esta dilixencia, ò se há de encontrar el dicho³² puerto, ò moralmente se podrá afirmar que no existe en el dia = Miguel Constanso.

Voto de Don³³ Pedro Fages: En atencion à la carta del Comandante³⁴ de la expedizion que respecto no caber en mi la menor duda de quedarse el Puerto de Monterrey á trás segun . . . á explorado el Capitan Don³⁵ Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, y no estar en los treinta y siete grados segun la observazion³⁶ de Don³⁷ Miguel Constansó, es mi parecer que se explore la costa hasta los treinta y siete y medio, y algo mas si

¹⁶ RR. PP.	¹⁷ RR. PP.	¹⁸ P.	¹⁹ P.
²⁰ C ^a d ^a	²¹ C ^a d ^a	²² S ^{er} d ^a	²³ d ^a
²⁴ q ^a	²⁵ expediz ^a	²⁶ arto	²⁷ S ^{ta}
²⁸ dho	²⁹ dho	³⁰ p ^r	³¹ p ^r
³² dho	³³ d ^a	³⁴ Comand ^{te}	³⁵ Cap ^a d ^a
³⁶ observaz ^a	³⁷ d ^a		

sacks of flour, twelve packs of meat, and four of vegetables. I give this information in order . . . that with all the details before us we may be able to consult with greater intelligence. May God preserve you many happy years. October 4, 1769. Your affectionate and devoted servant, Gaspar de Portolá. Let us all subscribe our opinions one after another; and, if they so desire, the reverend fathers may do the same.

[Addressed] to the reverend fathers, Father Gomez and Father Crespi; Captain Fernando de Rivera; Captain Pedro Fages; Don Miguel Costansó.

Opinion of Don Miguel Costansó—In response to the letter written by the commander of the expedition he makes the following statement: In consideration of the fact that we have not come upon the Port of Monterey—as we all had expected [to find it] after crossing a mountain range which we firmly believed to be that of Santa Lucía, at the foot of which the port must be, according to the old accounts—this officer thinks that it is necessary to seek for the Port of Monterey farther on. At present, he thinks, they are in $36^{\circ} 42'$ [north] latitude. The Port of Monterey is said to be in latitude 37° , and it may be even higher. On this account it would be well to explore the coast as far north as latitude $37^{\circ} 30'$, and he hopes that by means of this endeavor they will either find the port, or be morally justified in asserting that it no longer exists. Miguel Costansó.

The vote of Don Pedro Fages—In response to the letter of the commander of the expedition [I say] that, as there is not the slightest doubt in my mind that the Port of Monterey lies behind us according to . . . Captain Fernando de Rivera y Moncada has explored, and that it does not lie in latitude 37° , according to the statement of Don Miguel Costansó,—in my opinion the coast should be explored as far as $37^{\circ} 30'$, and a little farther if

se puede á fin de que se encuentre el mencionado puerto, y si no se encontrase que nos establescamos á donde parezca á los demas señores mas combeniente = Pedro Fages.

Dictamen del Capitan Don^{ss} Fernando de Rivera y Moncada en atenzion^{ss} á la carta del Comandante^{ss} que se den quatro, seis ú ocho dias de descanso, assi para los enfermos, como por^{ss} necessitarlo precissamente las mulas de silla, y que se siga el viage en la forma misma que se há traido, no siendo de parecer que se quede el real^{ss} aqui, y salga alguna partida á explorar largo, respecto á que para hacerse juzga por combeniente debia ser un numero competente para resistir á los gentiles caso de alguna novedad, lo que no puede ser por el corto numero de hombres, para resguardo de real^{ss} mulada, y exploracion; esto dize despues de haber atravesado una sierra alta, que nos forso á dexar la plaia, y el rumbo que trahiamos, y hido á explorar, y haviendo tenido dicha^{ss} sierra por^{ss} la de Santa^{ss} Lucia, y visto una punta de pinos mui poblada hasta la misma mar. Vió cerca de la sierra alta un arroyo con razonable cantidad de agua corriente, y de allí abrá legua y media, ó dos á la Punta de Pinos que despues de ella, no hace la mar otra cosa que ensenada bastante descubierta por^{ss} lo que infiere que los . . . parages padezcan algun genero de equivoco, y se arrimen bastante buscando el puerto á dicha^{ss} Punta de Pinos de donde se pudieron ver, esto es caso de que nos establecieramos en alguna parte lo qual aún no lo juzga por combeniente = Fernando de Ribera y Moncada.

Oido con reflexion todos los pareceres de los señores^{ss} oficiales que me acompañan en esta expedicion es mi voto que descansen la expedicion en este parage el termino de seis dias, y que continúe su marcha en busca del Puerto de Monterrey hasta tanto que las fuerzas humanas puedan, y en este caso, se elegirá parage para establecerse lo mejor que se pueda, y que no se salga á exploraciones largas en atencion á que en ida y buelta se gastaria mucho tiempo = Gaspar de Portolá.

^{ss} Cap^a d^a

^{ss} Rⁱ

^{ss} S^{ta}

^{ss} atenz^a

^{ss} Rⁱ

^{ss} p^r

^{ss} Comand^{ss}

^{ss} dha

^{ss} dha

^{ss} p^r

^{ss} p^r

^{ss} S^{ss}

possible, in order to reach the port and, if we do not find it, to establish ourselves in whatever place seems most convenient to the other gentlemen. Pedro Fages.

Opinion of Captain Fernando de Rivera y Moncada in response to the letter of the commander—[He thinks] they should devote four, six or eight days to rest—as much for the sake of the sick as that it was absolutely necessary for the saddle-mules—and that they then continue the journey in the same way as they had done heretofore. It was not his opinion that the camp should be continued here and that a party should go out to explore for a considerable distance, inasmuch as to do this he considered it necessary that [the party] should be sufficiently large to resist the natives in case of any danger, and as, on account of the small number of men, it was not possible to guard the camp, the mule-train, and the exploring party [all at the same time]. This [is his opinion], he says after having crossed a very high range of mountains which forced them to abandon the shore and the direction they were following; and after having reached the place where they find themselves; and after having explored and taken this range to be the Sierra de Santa Lucía; and having seen a point of pines, well wooded clear to the sea. He saw near the high range a gully with a moderate amount of running water; from this place it was probably a league and a half or two leagues to the point of pines, beyond which point there is only a bay which is quite exposed. From this he infers that the . . . places, suffer from a certain ambiguity, and that they had come far enough in search of the port [when they had reached] this point of pines as from this they could get [a distant view]. This [argument is presented] in case we were to establish ourselves in some place, which, however, he did not consider advisable. Fernando de Rivera y Moncada.

Having heard and considered attentively all the opinions of the officers who are with me on this expedition, it is my vote that the expedition rest in this place for a period of six days, and that it should continue its march in quest of the Port of Monterey as far as is humanly possible. In this case, a place will be selected to establish ourselves as well as possible, and no long excursion will be undertaken inasmuch as in the going and coming much time would be lost. Gaspar de Portolá.

Conclusion de la junta celebrada en el dia de la fecha. Boto de Don⁵⁰ Miguel Costansor. Se combiene en que en el termino de seis dias salga toda la expedicion junta = Miguel Costanso. Boto de Don⁵¹ Pedro Fages. Se combiene en que en el termino de seis dias salga toda la expedicion junta. Pedro Fages. Voto del segundo comandante de la expedizion⁵² Don⁵³ Fernando de Rivera. Se conforma en los seis dias de termino á la expedicion para que descanse = Fernando⁵⁴ de Rivera y Moncada. Conclusion del Comandante de la expedicion en que vota y combiene como todos en que continûe la expedicion su marcha dentro del termino de seis dias = Gaspar de Portolá. Voto del Reverendisimo Padre⁵⁵ Gomez en que se conforma de que en el termino de seis dias salga la expedicion = Fray Francisco⁵⁶ Gomez. Voto del Reverendisimo Padre⁵⁷ Crespi en que dice se conforma en los mismos terminos de la conclusion de la junta = Fray⁵⁸ Juan Crespi = Octubre 4 de 1769.

⁵⁰ d^a

⁵⁴ Fern^{do}

⁵⁸ Fr.

⁵¹ d^a

⁵⁵ Rmô. P.

⁵² expediz^a

⁵⁶ Fr. Fran^{co}

⁵³ d^a

⁵⁷ Rmô. P.

Conclusion of the council held on this date.

Vote of Don Miguel Costansó—He concurs in that, at the expiration of six days, the whole expedition set out together. Miguel Costansó.

Vote of Don Pedro Fages—He concurs in that, at the expiration of six days, the whole expedition set out together. Pedro Fages.

Vote of Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, second in command of the expedition—He agrees that the expedition rest for a period of six days. Fernando de Rivera y Moncada.

Decision of the commander of the expedition—He votes and concurs with the others, in that the expedition continue its march at the end of six days. Gaspar de Portolá.

Vote of Father Gomez—He agrees that the expedition set out at the end of six days. Father Francisco Gomez.

Vote of Father Crespí—He says that he agrees in the words of the decision of the council. Father Juan Crespí.

October 4, 1769.



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PUBLICATIONS OF THE
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VOL. I

NO. 4

THE NARRATIVE OF THE PORTOLA
EXPEDITION OF 1769-1770
BY MIGUEL COSTANSO

EDITED BY

ADOLPH VAN HEMERT-ENGERT
Assistant to the Academy of Pacific Coast History

AND

FREDERICK J. TEGGART
Curator of the Academy of Pacific Coast History

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA
MARCH, 1910

ACADEMY OF PACIFIC COAST HISTORY.

(Founded 1907.)

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The name of the Academy shall be the Academy of Pacific Coast History.

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Its object shall be the promotion of the study of the political, social, commercial and the industrial history, and of the ethnology, geography, and literature of the Pacific Coast of America, and the publication of monographs, historical documents, and other historical material relating thereto.

ARTICLE III.

The Regents of the University of California have entrusted the control and administration of the books and manuscripts collected by Mr. H. H. Bancroft and known as the Bancroft Collection, together with such other historical material as is already in their possession or may come into their possession, to the Council of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, on condition that the President of the University of California be, ex-officio, a member of the Council, that the Secretary of the Academy be appointed by the Regents, and that the names of members of the Council be submitted to the Regents for their approval.

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WFOU

The British Museum Catalogue accepts 1770 as the date of publication.

The volume has not been reprinted since its first appearance, and the English version—by which Costansó's work is best known—was not translated from the printed book but from a manuscript which the publisher, Alexander Dalrymple, had obtained in 1783 from Dr. William Robertson, author of *The History of America*. The title of the English version is:

An Historical Journal/ of the/ Expeditions, by Sea and Land,/ to the North of/ California;/ in/ 1768, 1769, and 1770:/ when/ Spanish Establishments/ Were first made at/ San-Diego and Monte-Rey./ From a Spanish M.S. Translated by William Reveley, Esq./

Published by A. Dalrymple./ 1790./ London,/ Printed by George Bigg./ Sold by P. Elmsly, opposite Southampton Street, Strand; J. Sewell, Cornhill;/ F. Wingrave (Successor to Mr. Nourse) opposite Catherine Street, Strand,/ and J. Stockdale, Piccadilly.//

Of the 76 pages in this publication the translation of Costansó's work occupies pages 1 to 46 inclusive.

It is with regret that it has been found impossible to use this translation in connection with the present reprint, but—owing possibly to idiosyncracies of the manuscript—too many differences have been found between the printed text and the translation to admit of the latter being taken as an adequate rendering of the former.

In recent years another translation into English has been published:

Early California History. The Expeditions of 1769. In *The Land of Sunshine*, edited by Charles F. Lummis. Los Angeles, California. Volume 14, June, 1901, pages 485 to 496; Volume 15, July, 1901, pages 38 to 47.

The Spanish text here given is a careful reprint of the original edition. It was at first intended to follow the manuscript copy signed with the name of Miguel Costansó which is preserved in the Sutro Library, San Francisco, but as no material differences were found between the two it was decided to reprint the book, giving in footnotes the variants of the manuscript. It

has not been considered necessary, however, to indicate the very numerous substitutions of letters—such as *v* for *b*, *z* for *c*, *x* for *g*—or divergences in the use of capitals and abbreviations.

Special thanks are due to Dr. Emma Sutro Merritt for her kindness in permitting the use of the manuscript of the *Diario* in the Sutro Library, as well as of the manuscript translation made by the late Rufus C. Hopkins; to the Los Angeles Public Library for the use of the copy of the printed edition; and to Mr. George Parker Winship, Librarian of The John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island, for a transcript of the English edition of 1790.

F. J. T.

DIARIO HISTORICO DE LOS VIAGES DE MAR, Y TIERRA, HECHOS AL NORTE DE LA CALIFORNIA DE ORDEN DEL EXCELENTISSIMO SEÑOR MARQUES DE CROIX, VIRREY, GOVERNADOR, Y CAPITAN GENERAL DE LA NUEVA ESPAÑA: Y POR DIRECCION DEL ILLUSTRISSIMO SEÑOR D. JOSEPH DE GALVEZ, DEL CONSEJO, Y CAMARA DE S. M. EN EL SUPREMO DE INDIAS, INTENDENTE DE EJERCITO,¹ VISITADOR GENERAL DE ESTE REYNO. EXECUTADOS POR LA TROPA DESTINADA A DICHO OBJETO, AL MANDO DE DON GASPAR DE PORTOLA, CAPITAN DE DRAGONES EN EL² REGIMIENTO DE ESPAÑA, Y GOVERNADOR EN DICHA PENINSULA. Y POR LOS PAQUEBOTS EL S. CARLOS, Y EL S. ANTONIO, AL MANDO DE DON VICENTE VILA, PILOTO DEL NUMERO DE PRIMEROS DE LA REAL ARMADA, Y DE DON JUAN PEREZ, DE LA NAVEGACION DE PHILIPINAS.

DE ORDEN DEL EXCMO. SR. VIRREY, EN LA IMPRENTA DEL
SUPERIOR GOBIERNO.

Noticioso el Alto Gobierno de España de las repetidas Tentativas de una Nacion Extranjera sobre las Costas Septentrionales de la California, con miras nada favorables á la Monarquia, y á sus Intereses mandó el Rey al Marqués de Croix, su Virrey, y Capitan General en la Nueva España, diese eficazes Provi-

¹ MS. omits *intendente de exercito*

² MS. reads *del*

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITIONS BY SEA AND LAND WHICH WERE MADE TO THE NORTH OF CALIFORNIA BY COMMAND OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE MARQUIS DE CROIX, VICEROY, GOVERNOR, AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF NEW SPAIN; AND UNDER THE DIRECTION OF DON JOSEPH DE GALVEZ, OF THE COUNCIL AND COURT OF HIS MAJESTY, MEMBER OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE INDIES, INTENDENT OF THE ARMY, INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF THIS KINGDOM. THESE EXPEDITIONS WERE MADE BY THE TROOPS DETAILED FOR THAT PURPOSE UNDER THE COMMAND OF DON GASPAR DE PORTOLA, CAPTAIN OF DRAGOONS IN THE ESPAÑA REGIMENT, AND GOVERNOR OF THE PENINSULA OF CALIFORNIA, AND BY THE PACKETS SAN CARLOS AND SAN ANTONIO, UNDER THE COMMAND OF DON VICENTE VILA, PILOT OF THE FIRST CLASS IN THE ROYAL NAVY, AND OF DON JUAN PEREZ, OF THE PHILIPPINE FLEET.

[PRINTED] BY COMMAND OF HIS EXCELLENCY, THE VICEROY, IN
THE PRINTING OFFICE OF THE SUPERIOR GOVERNMENT.

The high government of Spain being informed of the repeated attempts of a foreign nation upon the northern coasts of California, with designs by no means friendly to the monarchy and its interests, the king gave orders to the Marquis de Croix, his viceroy and captain-general in New Spain, that he should take

dencias para resguardar [aquella]* parte de sus Dominios de toda Invasion é Insulto.

Havia facilitado el Marqués de Croix las Ideas del Monarca sobre este asunto; pues antes de recibir esta Orden, y al tiempo de la Expulsion de los Jesuitas de Nueva España, tenia nombrado Gobernador Politico, y Militar de la California, para que executara la misma Operacion en aquella Provincia, la mantuviera bajo la Obediencia del Soberano, la conservara en paz, y diera aviso de qualquiera novedad, que ocurriese.

Igualmente havia resuelto S. Excia. embiar á dicha Peninsula Sugetos Inteligentes, que dedicados unicamente á reconocer, y recorrer lo descubierto de ella, le informasen del Estado de sus Misiones, de la disposicion, [2] calidad, y numero de sus Naturales, de su modo de vivir, y constumbres, de las producciones propias de aquella Tierra, de la naturaleza de sus Minas, del metodo que se seguia en su Laborío, de quienes las disfrutaban, que Poblaciones de Españoles, ó Gente de otras Castas havia establecidas, y finalmente de la calidad, y naturaleza de sus Costas, Puertos, y Mares, para dar en virtud de estos informes, y previas noticias las ordenes, y providencias conducentes al fomento, y arreglo del Comercio, Minería, y Poblacion de aquellos Países.

Pero al paso que S. Excia. conocia le necessidad de estos Informes, para proceder con acierto en la execucion de sus desig-nios, se hallaba tambien indeciso en la dificultad de nombrar Sugetos, en quienes concurriessen las circunstancias que requeria semejante Comision para su desempeño: quando á impulsos del proprio zelo, que animaba á S. Excia. levantó el peso de esta dificultad el Illmo. Sr. D. Joseph de Galvez, destinado á visitar las Provincias de Cinaloa, y Sonora, ofreciendo ir Personalmente á Californias con el deseo de llenar tan altas Ideas, y poner en execucion unos Proyectos, cuyo argumento consideraba de la mayor importancia.

[3] Aplaudió, y admitió S. Excia. la generosa oferta del Illmo. Sr. Galvez, y dandole todas sus vezes, tanto en lo Militar, como en lo Politico, á fin de que por sí, segun la necesidad, y ocu-rrencias, aplicase á dichos asuntos oportunas providencias, y

* MS. inserts *aquella*

effective measures to guard that part of his dominions from all invasion and insult.

The Marquis de Croix had facilitated the plans of the king in this matter, inasmuch as, previous to receiving this order, he had, at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain, appointed a political and military governor of California to carry out the same operation in that province, to keep it in obedience to the king, preserve it in peace, and give information of any event that might occur.

His Excellency had also resolved to send to the peninsula men of intelligence—employed exclusively to explore and examine the known parts of it—who should inform him of the state of the missions; of the disposition, character, and number of the natives, their manner of living and customs; of the natural products of the country; of the nature of the mines, the method followed in working them, and of those who derived the benefit from them; what settlements there were of Spaniards or other peoples; and, lastly, of the character and nature of its coasts, ports, and seas;—that, on the basis of these reports and information previously obtained, such orders might be given and measures adopted as would be conducive to the development and regulation of the commerce, mining, and settlement of those regions.

But while his Excellency recognized the necessity of this information in order to proceed successfully with the execution of his plans he was, at the same time, disconcerted by the difficulty of selecting men possessed of the qualifications which the performance of such a commission required. At this juncture, Don Joseph de Galvez, appointed to inspect the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora, inspired by the same zeal that animated his Excellency, removed the weight of this difficulty by offering to go in person to California, having the desire to fulfill such lofty ideas, and to put into execution projects whose bearing he considered of the greatest importance.

His Excellency appreciated and accepted the generous offer of Señor Galvez, and invested him with all his own authority—military as well as political—in order that, as the necessity and occasion [should arise], he might adopt, in these matters, suitable

reglamentos, dispuso el Sr. Visitador General su Viage, y salió de Mexico el nueve⁴ de Abril de mil setecientos sesenta y ocho.⁵

Por Mayo del propio año llegó su S. Illma. al Puerto de San Blas, Astillero, y Poblacion erigidos nuevamente sobre la Costa de la Nueva Galicia en la Mar de el Sur, en donde se havian fabricado las Embarcaciones destinadas á la Navegacion, y Comercio de la Sonora; y en la actualidad se estaban construyendo otros Buques, que debian, segun las intenciones de este Gobierno, servir á la comunicacion, y trato de la California.

Bajando á este Puerto con el fin de embarcarse para aquella Peninsula alcanzaron á su S. Illma. unos pliegos de Mexico, en que el Sr. Virrey incluía la orden, que recientemente havia recibido de la Corte, concerniente el cuydado, y vigilancia con que importaba mirar, y celar las Costas occidentales de la California y S. Excia. añadió la oportuna providencia, de que el Sr. Visitador despachase una[4]Expedicion Maritima al famoso Puerto de Monterrey.

Era el resguardo, y custodia de las Costas de la California, uno de los objetos que ocuparon dignamente la atencion del Excmo. Sr. Marques de Croix, y con este motivo recomendaba nuevamente á su S. Illma. un punto, cuya importancia se hechaba de ver en la estimacion, que le añadia la orden del Monarca, dejando al prudente arbitrio del Sr. Visitador el aplicar los medios que juzgase mas oportunos, y conducentes⁶ á tan recomendable fin.

Pero antes de refirir los que puso por obra el Illmo. Sr. D. Joseph de Galvez, se hace preciso decir algo de las Costas de la California, objeto de las atenciones del Gobierno, manifestando assi mismo el estado de la Peninsula, y en general el de los negocios de la Mar del Sur al arribo de su S. Illma. á San Blas, para dar á conocer el acierto de las providencias, su proporcion con ellos, y con los pocos recursos, sobre que se puede contar en tan remotas Tierras.

Son conocidas por el nombre de Exteriores, ú Occidentales de la California, aquellas Costas de la America Septentrional, que registran el Oceano Asiatico, ó sea Mar del Sur, y discurren

⁴ MS. reads 9

⁵ MS. reads 1768

⁶ MS. omits y conducentes

measures and regulations. The inspector-general made arrangements for his journey, and set out from Mexico on the 9th of April, 1768.

By May of the same year, he reached the Port of San Blas, a shipyard and town newly established on the coast of New Galicia on the South Sea. Here the vessels for the navigation and commerce of Sonora had been built, and at that time additional ships were being constructed which, according to the intentions of the government, were to be used in the intercourse and trade of California.

On putting into this port with the purpose of embarking for the peninsula, Señor Galvez was overtaken by despatches from Mexico. In these the viceroy included the order which he had lately received from the court concerning the care and vigilance which it was important to exercise in watching and guarding the western coasts of California. His Excellency also added the opportune provision that the inspector-general should despatch a maritime expedition to the famous Port of Monterey.

The security and keeping of the coasts of California was one of the objects that fittingly engaged the attention of the Marquis de Croix. For this reason he urged anew upon Señor Galvez a subject, the importance of which could be seen from the consequence attached to it in the order of the king, and left it to the wise judgment of the inspector-general to adopt such measures as he might consider most opportune and conducive to so commendable an object.

But before giving an account of what was done by Don Joseph de Galvez, it is necessary to say something about the coasts of California—the object of the attention of the government—showing at the same time the condition of the peninsula, and, in general, the condition of the affairs of the South Sea on the arrival of the inspector-general at San Blas, in order that the effectiveness of the dispositions, their relation to the conditions, and to the scanty resources which could be relied upon in such distant regions, should be made known.

Under the name of outer, or western, coasts of California are known those coasts of North America that border on the Asiatic Ocean—otherwise called the South Sea—and that extend along

sobre sus Aguas el largo espacio[5]demas de quinientas leguas Maritimas entre el Cabo de San Lucas, por veinte, y dos grados y quarenta, y ocho minutos de Latitud, y el Rio de los Reyes, por quarenta y tres grados; citamos al Rio de los Reyes, no como limite, pero sí como termino de lo descubierto de ellas, por los Navegantes de nuestra Nacion, aunque no se estienda á tanto lo Conquistado, y reducido por los Españoles á la obediencia de su Augusto Monarca, cuyo Dominio, no reconocen aun todas las Naciones comprehendidas dentro de la Peninsula, si su garganta, ó parte por donde queda unida al Continente, se considera entre la boca del Rio Colorado, y el Puerto de San Diego, dos puntos que con leve diferencia, coinciden bajo del Paralelo de treinta, y dos grados, y medio.

Lo reducido de la California, empezando desde el Cabo de San Lucas, llegaba solamente hasta los treinta grados, y medio de Latitud, en que se halla la Mision de Santa Maria, á corta distancia de la Bahia de San Luis Gonzaga, Puerto muy acomodado, y seguro, sobre el Mar de Cortés, ó Seno Californio; pero todo este tramo estaba á penas Poblado de otra Gente que de sus mismos Naturales, congregados muy pocos de ellos en las Mi-[6]siones, y dispersos los demás en diferentes Rancherias vagantes que reconocian, como á Cabezera la Mision mas inmediata; estos cuyo numero es bien limitado, á excepcion de hallarse Catequizados, y hechos Christianos, conservaban en lo restante el mismo modo de buscar la vida, que en su Gentilidad, en la caza, ó en la pesca, viviendo por los Montes, para recoger las Semillas, y Frutas, que ofrece la Tierra, sin cultivo alguno.

La Gente Española, y otras Castas, llamadas de razon en la America, y establecidas dentro de la Peninsula, no llegaba á quatrocientas Almas, incluyendo en este numero á las Familias de los Soldados del Presidio del Loreto, y las de algunos, que se decian Mineros, que havitaban á la parte del Sur, de donde se infiere quan poco podia contarse sobre sus Moradores para la defensa de sus Costas, y la facilidad que⁷ ofrecia á qualesquiera Estrangeros para establecer[se]⁸ sobre ellas, sin recelo de hallar oposicion alguna, mayormente si huviesen intentado el desembarco azia el Norte en los celebrados Puertos de San Diego, y

⁷ MS. inserta *este*

⁸ MS. reads *establecerse*

its waters the great distance of over five hundred marine leagues between Cape San Lucas in $22^{\circ} 48'$ [north] latitude, and the Rio de los Reyes in 43° [north latitude]. We mention the Rio de los Reyes, not as a boundary, but as the limit of what has been discovered on these coasts by the navigators of our nation, although the territory conquered and brought by the Spaniards into submission to their august sovereign does not extend so far. His dominion is not acknowledged even by all the tribes in the peninsula, if its neck, or part where it connects with the continent, is regarded [as lying] between the mouth of the River Colorado and the Port of San Diego, two points that, with a slight difference, fall under the parallel of $32^{\circ} 30'$ [north] latitude.

The conquered part of California, beginning from Cape San Lucas, extended only as far as latitude $30^{\circ} 30'$, where is situated the Mission of Santa María, at a short distance from the Bay of San Luis Gonzaga, a very convenient and safe port on the Sea of Cortés, or Gulf of California. But this whole country was inhabited by hardly anyone except its own natives, of whom only a few were collected in the missions, while the others, scattered in various wandering groups, looked to the nearest mission as to a capital. The number of these natives is very limited, and, with the exception of being baptized and made Christians, they preserve in everything the same mode of procuring their livelihood as in their savage state—hunting, or fishing, or living in the woods to gather the seeds and fruits that the country affords without any cultivation whatever.

The Spaniards and other races—spoken of in America as white people—who were settled in the peninsula, did not number four hundred souls, including the families of the soldiers of the Presidio of Loreto, and of some men who called themselves miners and lived in the southern part [of the peninsula]. From this may be inferred how little it would be possible to count upon the inhabitants of the country for the defense of its coasts, and the opportunity offered to any foreigners to establish themselves there without fear of meeting the least opposition, especially if they had attempted to land towards the north in the celebrated Ports of San Diego and Monterey. Such a contingency would have

Monterrey, caso que traía consigo fatales resultas; pudiendo tomar posesion de la Tierra, y fortificarse en dichos Parages, sin que llegase, ó llegase tarde, á noticia del[7] Gobierno, y hallandose el daño en terminos de irremediable.

Sobre la Mar del Sur en todo lo que mira á las Costas de la Nueva España, no se conocian otras Embarcaciones, que los Paquebots, recién contruidos en San Blas, y otros dos de pequeño porte, que sirvieron á los Misioneros expulsos de la California, para su comunicacion, con las vecinas y fronteras Costas de la Sonora, y Nueva Galicia. En estos pocos Buques consistian todas las fuerzas Maritimas, que se pudiesen oponer á las invasiones Extranjeras.

A vista pues de la orden con que se hallaba su Señoria Illmà. y de los escasos medios, que ofrecia aquella Provincia conociendo igualmente, que no era dable practicar por el pronto lo mejor, no por esto desistió de el empeño en que se hallaba, antes venció con industria la dificultad, dividiendo los inconvenientes: sintió la necesidad de Poblar lo descubierto de la California de Gente útil, capaz de cultivar sus tierras, y aprovecharse de las ricas producciones que ofrece en Minerales, grana, ó otros frutos, como asimismo de tomar las Armas en defensa de sus Casas,* siempre que llegase el caso; pero siendo tan dilatados, como se dixo, los Países comprendidos,[8]vajo el nombre de California, no era menos necesario adelantar todo lo posible para el Norte nuevos establecimientos, que dandose la mano con los del Sur, pudiesen mutuamente sostenerse.

Nadie ignora las repetidas, y costosas expediciones, que para realizar este proyecto, y reconocer la Costa Occidental de la California, se hicieron en los dos Siglos antecedentes; el acierto, y felicidad, que tuvo la ultima executada en el año de mil seiscientos, y dos, por el General Sebastian Vizcayno, logrando descubrir los Puertos de San Diego, y Monterrey, situados aquel, por treinta, y dos grados, y medio de Latitud, y este por treinta y seis, y quarenta minutos, de cuya resulta dimanó la Real Cedula del Sr. Phelipe Tercero en que mandaba ocupar, y poblar el Puerto de Monterrey; cuya utilidad se conoció bien desde entonces, cometiendo esta importante Comision al mismo Sebastian Vis-

* MS. reads *hogares*

brought with it disastrous consequences, for they could have taken possession of the country and fortified themselves in those places without the knowledge coming to the attention of the government, or so late that the loss would be irreparable.

On the South Sea, in all that part that touches upon the coast of New Spain, no vessels were known other than the packets recently built at San Blas, and two others of small tonnage that had served the missionaries who were expelled from California as a means of communication with the neighboring frontier coasts of Sonora and New Galicia. These few ships constituted all the naval force that could be opposed to foreign invasions.

In view, then, of the order which Señor Galvez had received, and of the limited resources which that province afforded—knowing also that, for the time being, the best means could not be employed—he did not, on this account, abandon the undertaking. On the contrary, he overcame with diligence the difficulty by dividing the inconveniences. He realized the necessity of settling the discovered part of California with industrious people, capable of cultivating its lands, and of profiting by the rich returns which it offers in minerals, grain, and other products, as well as of bearing arms in defense of their homes whenever the occasion should arise. But, owing to the great extent of the territories comprised under the name of California, as has been mentioned, it was equally necessary to advance new settlements as far north as possible, which, by joining hands with those of the south, might afford mutual assistance.

No one is ignorant of the repeated and costly expeditions which had been undertaken during the last two centuries to realize this project and to explore the western coast of California, and of the effectiveness and success of the last expedition which was carried out in the year 1602 by General Sebastian Vizcayno, who succeeded in discovering the Ports of San Diego and Monterey, situated in latitude $32^{\circ} 30'$ and $36^{\circ} 40'$, respectively. From this achievement originated the royal decree of Philip III. in which it was ordered that the Port of Monterey should be occupied and settled—the expediency of which has been fully recognized ever since—this important commission being entrusted to Sebastian

cayno; pero aunque las Ordenes de aquel Monarca estaban dadas con tal acuerdo, y concebidas en terminos, que parecian allanar toda dificultad, y vencer todo imposible, no se llevaron á debido efecto, sin que pueda decirse, que impedimentos ocasionaron su inobservancia, aunque muriese Viscayno quando se disponia á la Empresa.

[9] Los mismos motivos Politicos que en aquel tiempo se tuvieron presentes para expedir ahora¹⁰ dichas Ordenes, y agregandose los otros que van referidos, dictaba la prudencia el partido que convenia seguir en las actuales circunstancias, para lograr el mejor acierto.

Con esta mira, resolvió el Illmó. Señor Don Joseph de Galvez en Junta, que presidió en San Blas el diez, y seis de Mayo de mil setecientos sesenta, y ocho, con asistencia del Comandante de aquel Departamento, de los Oficiales de Exercito, y Pilotos, que se hallaban en él, que se volbiese á dicha Empresa con mayores fundamentos, ocupando de una vez los Puertos de S. Diego, y Monterrey, estableciendo en ellos Presidio, y Mision, y asegurando con esta providencia la Posesion de aquella Tierra, á nuestro Augusto Soberano, contra las pretenciones de huespedes Estrangeros; y reservó su Illmà. para tiempo mas oportuno aumentar aquellos establecimientos, y darles toda la solidéz que conviene.

Quedó pues resuelta la expedicion Maritima, y destinados los Buques, en que havia de executarse, eligiendo á este efecto el San Carlos, y el San Antonio, como Vasos de mayor porte, y resistencia; pero como su Señoria Illmà. huviese de pasar á la California, para[10] desde allí tomar nuevas medidas, y dar varias ordenes al mismo intento, difirió por entonces nombrar á los Oficiales, y Tropa, que havian de llevar de transporte juntamente con los Padres Misioneros que se havian de sacar de dicha Peninsula.

Hallabanse á la sazón fuera de San Blas los dos Paquebots, y se consideraban navegando la vuelta del Puerto, del que salieron en Marzo del proprio año, con transporte de Tropa para el de Guaymas en la Provincia de Sonora; por lo que dejando al Comandante de aquel Departamento las ordenes con-

¹⁰ MS. reads *se tubieron ahora presentes para expedir*

Vizcayno himself. But although the orders of the king had been given with such clearness, and expressed in terms which seemed to remove every difficulty and to overcome every obstacle, they were not carried into due effect; it is impossible, however, to say why they were neglected, except that Vizcayno died while he was preparing for the enterprise.

The same political reasons for the execution of those orders which existed at that time were now present, and, as the other reasons referred to were accumulating, prudence dictated the course which should be followed in the present circumstances to obtain the best results.

Therefore, Don Joseph de Galvez, at a council over which he presided at San Blas on the 16th of May, 1768, at which were present the commander of that department, the officers of the army and the pilots, who were at that place, resolved that they should renew the enterprise with greater preparations; occupy at once the ports of San Diego and Monterey; establish in them a presidio and a mission; and secure to our august sovereign by this means the possession of that country against the pretensions of foreign interlopers. The inspector-general awaited a more opportune season to increase those settlements and to give them all necessary stability.

The maritime expedition was then decided upon, and the vessels designated by which it was to be made. The *San Carlos* and the *San Antonio*, being the largest and strongest, were selected for this purpose. But inasmuch as Don Joseph de Galvez had to go to California there to take new measures and to give various orders in the same matter, he deferred for the time being the appointment of the officers and [the selection of] the soldiers who were to be transported together with the missionaries to be taken from the peninsula.

The two packets were at that time away from San Blas, presumably on their return to the port from which they had sailed in March of the same year, transporting troops to the Port of Guaymas in the province of Sonora. Therefore, leaving the commander of that department with orders for the prompt despatch

ducentes al breve despacho, y habilitacion de las citadas Embarcaciones,¹¹ se embarcó su S. Illmà. para la California el dia veinte, y quatro de Mayo en la Balandra la Cinaloa, y en cinco de Julio, tomó Tierra en la Bahía Cerralbo, despues de haver reconocido por sí mismo las Islas Isabela, y Marias, y el Puerto de Mazatlan en la Costa de Cinaloa.

Mientras tanto se acopiaba todo lo necesario para tan dilatado, y penoso Viage; pero aunque el Comandante de San Blàs, y los demás Sujetos encargados de este importante asunto anduvieron muy solícitos, contra toda dilacion, la tardanza de los Barcos en restituirse al Puerto, por razon de los vientos[11]contrarios, y la dificultad, que por la misma causa experimentaron despues en su Viage, para pasar á la¹² California, atrasó notablemente la Expedicion Maritima.

Entre tanto¹³ trabajaba, con incansable desvelo el Señor Visitador General, y sobrando en la California asuntos de grave importancia, dignos de ocupar su atencion, nunca perdió de vista la proyectada Empresa, cuyo bien exito quiso asegurar por quantos caminos podian tentarse, y por quantos medios le sugeria su discurso: no le pareció suficiente á su S. Illmà. la Expedicion Maritima, para obtener, y llegar al fin que se propinia; consideraba los infinitos riesgos, y contratiempos á que iban expuestas las Embarcaciones en una navegacion dilatada, y que podia decirse nueva por las escasas noticias, que de ella se tenian; las enfermedades, que podian asaltar á las Tripulaciones frequentes en Viajes largos, y otras contingencias inevitables, de cuyas reflexiones nació la resolucion de embiar por Tierra otra Expedicion, que dirigiendose á los mismos destinos, que la Maritima, pudiese prestar, ó recibir de esta, segun las ocurrencias, los socorros, de que mutuamente necesitasen.

A este fin despachó su S. Illmà. á todas las Misiones de la Peninsula, con encargo á los[12]Reverendos Padres Ministros de ellas, para que por su parte contribuyese cada uno con los efectos, de que sin hacerle falta pudiese desprenderse en Ornamentos, y Vasos Sagrados para las nuevas Misiones, Frutas secas, y Caldos para dichos Viajes, Caballeria, y Mulada.

¹¹ MS. reads *embarcaciones*
propio tpo

¹² MS. omits *la*

¹³ MS. reads *Al*

and equipment of these vessels, Señor Galvez embarked for California on the 24th of May in the sloop *Cinaloa*, and on the 5th of July, arrived in the Bay of Cerralbo, having personally reconnoitered Isabella Island and the Marías, and the Port of Mazatlan on the coast of Sinaloa.

In the meantime, everything necessary for so long and arduous a voyage was being collected. But in spite of the fact that the commandant at San Blas and the other persons entrusted with this important matter were very anxious to avoid delay, the slowness of the vessels in returning to the port on account of contrary winds, and the difficulty which they afterwards experienced from the same cause on their voyage to California, greatly delayed the maritime expedition.

Meanwhile the inspector-general labored untiringly, and, although there were many matters of grave importance in California sufficient to occupy his attention, he never lost sight of the projected enterprise, whose successful outcome he desired to insure in every possible way and by every means that his mind could suggest. The expedition by sea did not appear to Señor Galvez sufficient for the attainment and success of the plans he had in view. He considered the many hazards and mishaps to which the vessels would be exposed on a protracted voyage—and one that might be called new, by reason of the ignorance concerning it—the diseases to which crews are frequently exposed on long voyages, and other inevitable contingencies. From these reflections arose the resolution to send another expedition by land, which, proceeding to the same destination as the expedition by sea, would be able, according to the circumstances, to lend or receive from the latter such aid as either might require.

Therefore, the inspector-general sent to all the missions of the peninsula, requesting the reverend fathers who were at the head of them, that each of them should for his part contribute articles he could conveniently dispense with, such as vestments and sacred vessels for the new missions, dried fruits and wine for the journeys, and horses and mules.

Las Provisiones, y Viveres para el Viage de Tierra se embarcaron en el Presidio de Loreto abordo de quatro Lanchones Tripulados de intento, para llevarlos á la Bahía de San Luis Gonzaga, de donde pasaron á la Mision de Santa Maria, ultima, y la mas avansada al Norte, nombrada como punto de reunion, y partida azia donde iba tambien¹⁴ encaminandose la Tropa, Harrieros, y Baqueros con el Ganado de toda especie, que se havia de llevar en pie para carga, y para Poblar los Establecimientos proyectados.

Companiase esta Tropa de quarenta Hombres de la Compañia de Californias, á que se juntaron otros treinta Indios voluntarios de las Misiones, armados de arco, y flechas; todas havian de marchar á las Ordenes del Governador de la Peninsula Don Gaspar de Portolá; pero halló su S. Illma. por mas conveniente componer de ellas dos Trozos. El Capitan de el Presidio de Loreto D. Fernando Ri-[13]vera,¹⁵ y Moncada, havia de conducir el primero en calidad de Explorador con veinte y cinco Hombres de su Tropa, y algunos Indios Amigos, llevando el Ganado Bacuno; y el Governador Comandante en Gefe de la Expedicion havia de seguir despues con el resto de la Gente, y Provisiones.

La salida del primer Trozo, conforme á las disposiciones dadas por su S. Illma. havia de efectuarse á principios de Diciembre, pero la aspereza de los Caminos, la dificultad de juntar el Ganado, y de conducirlo por Tierras escasas de pastos, y aguajes, como son las del Norte de la antigua California, retardó considerablemente la marcha, y el Ganado Bacuno, que llegó á la Mision de Santa Maria á principios de Marzo de sesenta y nueve, quedó totalmente imposibilitado de proseguir el Viage, de suerte, que fue forzoso dexarlo en Velicatá, para que se reforzara, difiriendo á mejor ocasion el conducirlo, como se executó despues.

Fundóse en Velicatá nueva Doctrina con la Advocacion de San Fernando por ser este Parage, que dista como veinte leguas de la Mision de Santa Maria, muy frequentado de las Naciones Gentiles del Norte de la California: dejóse en él la Escolta suficiente, y[14]desde aqui siguió su marcha para San Diego el primer Trozo de la Expedicion de Tierra el dia veinte, y quatro de Marzo de dicho año.

¹⁴ MS. omits *tambien*

¹⁵ MS. reads *Fernando de Rivera*

At the Presidio of Loreto, the provisions and stores for the land-journey were put on board four lighters, specially manned, to be carried to the Bay of San Luis Gonzaga, whence they were sent on to the Mission of Santa María, the last and northernmost [of California] which had been designated as the rendezvous and starting-point. To this place also came the soldiers, muleteers, and drovers with the cattle of all kinds that were to be taken on foot as beasts of burden and to stock the projected settlements.

This force consisted of forty men of the California Company, to whom were added thirty Indian volunteers from the missions, armed with bows and arrows. All were to march under the orders of Don Gaspar de Portolá, the governor of the peninsula. Señor Galvez, however, found it more convenient to divide the force into two parties. Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, captain of the Presidio of Loreto, was to lead the first, as explorer, with twenty-five of his soldiers and some friendly Indians, taking the cattle; while the governor, as commander-in-chief of the expedition, was to follow afterwards with the rest of the men and provisions.

According to the arrangements made by the inspector-general, the first division was to have set out in the early part of December. But the march was considerably delayed by the roughness of the roads, the difficulty of collecting the cattle, and of driving them through a country so destitute of pasture and watering places as is the northern part of Lower California. Moreover, the cattle, which arrived at the Mission of Santa María in the beginning of March, 1769, were totally unfit to continue the journey, so that it was necessary to leave them at Velicatá to recover, deferring to a better opportunity their transportation, which was afterwards effected.

At Velicatá a new mission was founded under the protection of San Fernando, as this place, distant about 20 leagues from the Mission of Santa María, was much frequented by the Indian tribes of the northern part of California. After leaving a sufficient guard for its protection, the first division of the land-expedition continued its journey towards San Diego on the 24th of March of that year.

El segundo Trozo de dicha Expedicion, que conducia el Gobernador, salió de este mismo parage de Velicatá en quince de Mayo, llevando en su compañía al Presidente de las Misiones de la California el Reverendísimo P. Fr. Junipero Serrá, que en una edad abanzada, ni los trabajos excesivos, é inseparables de tan dilatado Viage, ni los que le esperaban en su apeteuido Apostolado de Monterrey, fueron capaces de contener el ardiente zelo, de que vive poseido para la conversion de aquella infinita Gentilidad al conocimiento del verdadero Dios, y de su Santa Ley de Gracia.

Los Paquebots el San Carlos, y el Principe, que segun las Ordenes de su S. Illmà. havian de tocar en el Puerto de la Paz en la California Meridional, para desde él salir con la Tropa Veterana de desembarco, utiles, Pertrechos, y Viveres para los nuevos Establecimientos de San Diego, y Monterrey, tardaron en llegar á aquel Puerto, por la causa que se insinuó al principio. Entró el San Carlos á mediado de Diciembre, y como huviese trabajado mucho en la Mar forcejando con[15]los vientos, se le affloxaron, y escupió de las costuras alguna Estopa por donde venía haciendo agua. No era este accidente para dejado á las espaldas, y se juzgó indispensable el darlo á la vanda, para descubrirle el Costado, y la Quilla; operacion que tenia su dificultad en un Pais poco menos que destituido de quanto se necesitaba para el efecto: Executóse sin embargo acalorandola su S. Illmà. con su presencia, y exemplo, y en menos de quince dias recibió el Buque toda su carga, y quedando en disposicion de hacerse á la Vela, se embarcó la Tropa, que consistia en veinte, y cinco Hombres de la Compañia franca de Voluntarios de Cataluña con su Teniente D. Pedro Fages, que su S. Illmà. habia mandado venir del Exercito, ó Expedicion de Sonora, el Ingeniero D. Miguel Constansó, y el Cirujano D. Pedro Prat: embarcóse tambien para la asistencia espiritual de todos el muy Reverendo Padre Fr. Fernando Parron, Religioso del Colegio de *Propaganda Fide* de San Fernando de Mexico, que havia de quedarse en San Diego para fundar aquella Mision.

A este tiempo se tuvo noticia del otro Paquebot el San Antonio, que hallandose ya muy cerca del Puerto, fue Sotaventado por un viento recio del Norueste, y se vió obliga-[16]do á arribar al Pulmo parage, y surgidero, que tiene algun resguardo

The second division of the expedition, which was in charge of the governor, left Velicatá on the 15th of May, having with it the Reverend Father Junípero Serra, president of the missions of California. Although advanced in years, neither the extreme hardships inseparable from such a long journey, nor those which awaited him in his much desired apostolate at Monterey, were able to restrain the ardent zeal which possesses him for the conversion of those innumerable heathen to the knowledge of the true God and of his holy law of grace.

According to the orders of Señor Galvez, the packets *San Carlos* and *Principe* [or *San Antonio*] were to touch at the Port of La Paz in Southern California, and to sail from there with the veteran troops, which were to be landed, and the tools, stores, and provisions for the new settlements of San Diego and Monterey. The packets were late in arriving at La Paz for the reason noticed at the beginning. The *San Carlos* arrived in the middle of December. As it had labored heavily at sea, contending with the winds which had loosened its timbers, some of the oakum had worked from the seams so as to cause a leak. This was not a matter to be neglected, and it was deemed necessary to careen the ship, in order to expose the side and keel—an operation which had its difficulties in a country practically destitute of everything necessary for the purpose. The work, however, was accomplished, Señor Galvez urging it on by his presence and example, and in less than two weeks the vessel was completely loaded and being ready to sail, the troops were embarked. These consisted of twenty-five men of the free company of Catalan volunteers with their lieutenant, Don Pedro Fages, whom the inspector-general had ordered to come from the army on the Sonora expedition; the engineer, Don Miguel Costansó; and the surgeon, Don Pedro Prat. There likewise embarked, for the spiritual assistance of all, the very Reverend Father Fernando Parron, a religious of the Collegio de Propaganda Fide de San Fernando in Mexico, who was to remain at San Diego in order to establish the mission at that place.

At this time, news was received of the other packet, the *San Antonio*, which, when it was already very close to the port, had been driven to leeward by a strong northwest wind, and was forced to seek shelter at Pulmo, an anchorage on the southern coast of the

de dicho viento en la Costa del Sur de la Peninsula, desde donde su Capitan Don Juan Perez, dió aviso de este acaecimiento. Receló entonces¹⁶ su S. Illma. que durando en su fuerza los Noruestes, no decayese mas á Sotavento, si intentasen sus Pilotos ganar el Puerto, en cuya atencion despachó Orden á dicho Capitan, para que pasara á la Bahía de San Bernabé, situada en el Cabo de San Lucas, sobre la misma Costa, y la parte mas Meridional de la Peninsula, á donde su S. Illma. resolvió transferirse en el Paquebot la Concepcion.

Hicieronse á la Mar á un tiempo la Concepcion, y el San Carlos desde el Puerto de la Paz, en diez de Henero de mil setecientos sesenta y nueve, navegaron en conserva hasta el catorze del mismo, en cuyo dia entraron, y dieron fondo en la Bahía de San Bernabé; pero no habiendo llegado aun el San Antonio, resolvió su S. Illma. mandar por delante al San Carlos, y al dia siguiente por la tarde zarpó este Paquebot sus anclas, y se hizo á la Vela para San Diego.

El San Antonio llegó á la expresada Bahía de San Bernabé en fines de Henero, y aunque no trahía incomodidad alguna, resolvió el[17]Sr. Visitador darlo tambien á la vanda para recorrer sus costados, y habilitado como el San Carlos se hizo á la Mar para el mismo destino en quince de Febrero.

Tiene la navegacion de la Costa Exterior de la California una dificultad inseparable en la constancia de los vientos Nortes, y Noruestes, que con poca interrupcion duran todo el año, y son directamente opuestos al Viage, por hallarse tendida dicha Costa de Norueste, Sueste, lo que precisa á toda Embarcacion á retirarse de ella, y enmararse hasta dar con vientos mas variables, y propicios, con los quales elevandose para el Norte lo que necesitan, logran recalar á Barlovento de el Puerto, á que se dirigen.

Bajo de este presupuesto, y con orden de seguir el metodo indicado, hicieron su Viage al Puerto de San Diego los dos Paquebots, si bien con distinta fortuna, porque el San Carlos experimentó tanta contrariedad de vientos, y calmas, que viendose enmarado á mas de doscientas leguas de la Costa, y falto de agua, hubo de arrimarse á ella para buscarla: hizola en la Isla de Cerros con grande dificultad, y trabajo, manteniendose el Barco á la

¹⁶ MS. omits *entonces*

peninsula, which affords some protection from that wind. From here its captain, Don Juan Perez, sent notice of what had happened. Fearing that while the northwest winds lasted in all their force it might be driven still further to leeward if its pilots attempted to reach port, the inspector-general sent an order to the captain that he should proceed to the Bay of San Bernabé, situated at Cape San Lucas, on the same coast and on the southernmost part of the peninsula, to which place he decided to go himself in the packet *Concepcion*.

On January 10, 1769, the *Concepcion* and the *San Carlos* put to sea at the same time from the Port of La Paz, and sailed in company until the 14th of the same month, when they entered and cast anchor in the Bay of San Bernabé. But, as the *San Antonio* had not yet arrived, Señor Galvez determined to send the *San Carlos* ahead, and in the afternoon of the following day that vessel weighed anchor and set sail for San Diego.

The *San Antonio* reached the Bay of San Bernabé towards the end of January, and although it had not suffered at all, the inspector-general resolved to careen it also in order to overhaul its sides. Having been repaired like the *San Carlos*, it sailed for the same destination on the 15th of February.

The navigation of the outer coast of California presents an unavoidable difficulty on account of the prevalence of north and northwest winds, which, with little interruption, continue throughout the year, and are directly contrary to the voyage, as the coast bears northwest to southeast. This makes it necessary for all vessels to keep away from the coast and gain sea room until they encounter more variable and favorable winds, with which, making as far north as they require, they can stand in to windward of the port for which they are bound.

Taking this for granted, and having orders to adopt the method indicated [above], the two packets made their voyage to the port of San Diego—but with different fortune. For the *San Carlos* encountered such great opposition of winds and calms, that it was driven to sea more than two hundred leagues from the coast, and being short of water, had to make for the coast in order to procure some. This was obtained with great difficulty and labor on Cerros Island, the vessel remaining under sail, and

Vela, bordeando entre la Tierra firme, y la Isla, que no tiene abrigo, ni surgidero alguno donde se pue-[18]da hechar una ancla, sin exponerse á perderla, por la mala calidad del fondo.

Concluida su aguada, se hizo de nuevo á la Mar en veinte, y seis de Marzo, y el dia veinte, y nueve de Abril entró en el Puerto de San Diego á los ciento, y diez dias de haver salido del de la Paz: pero su Tripulacion, y la Tropa de Transporte, cuya fatiga, en tan dilatado, y penoso Viage, y en lo mas crudo del Invierno, no pudo menos que ser excesiva, llegaron en deplorable estado. El Escorbuto, inficionó á todos, sin excepcion, de suerte, que al entrar en San Diego havian muerto ya dos hombres de dicha enfermedad, lo mas de la Gente de Mar, y la mitad de la Tropa se hallaban postrados en sus Lechos; solo quatro Marineros quedaban en pie, y acudian, ayudados de la Tropa á marear, y aferrar las Velas, y demas maniobras.

El Paquebot San Antonio, con haver salido un mes despues que el San Carlos, tuvo la fortuna de rendir el Viage en cinquenta, y nueve dias, y se hallaba en dicho Puerto de San Diego desde once de Abril, pero tenia la mitad de su Tripulacion igualmente afecta del Escorbuto, de cuyo accidente havian muerto tambien dos Hombres. En medio de tanta enfermedad tuvieron todos á felicidad grande el jun-[19]tarse, y de comun acuerdo, despues, de haverse amarrado el San Carlos en parage conveniente, resolvieron los Oficiales atender al pronto alivio de los Enfermos.

Fue la primera diligencia buscar un aguage de donde surtirse, y llenar la Barrileria de buena agua para el uso de la Gente; á cuyo fin el dia primero de Mayo desembarcaron los Oficiales D. Pedro Fages, D. Miguel Costansó,¹⁷ y el segundo Capitan del San Carlos D. Gorge Estorace con la Tropa, y Marineros, que se hallaban con mas actitud¹⁸ para la fatiga en numero de veinte, y cinco Hombres, y siguiendo la Rivera Occidental del Puerto, descubrieron á poco trecho una Tropa de Indios Armados de arco, y flechas, á quienes hicieron seña con paños blancos llamandolos para tomar lengua; pero estos midiendo su paso sobre el de nuestra Gente, no permitieron en mas de media hora, que les dieran alcance, ni tampoco fue posible á los nuestros hacer mayor

¹⁷ MS. reads *Constansó*

¹⁸ MS. reads *aptitud*

diligencia, porque iban debiles, y despues de tan larga navegacion havian como perdido el uso de los pies. Parabanse estos Indios de rato, á rato sobre alguna altura observando á la Gente, y dando á conocer el miedo que les causaban los Forasteros en lo mismo, que hacian para encubrirlo: hincaban la una pun-[20]ta de sus arcos en el suelo, y aziendolo por el otro extremo baylaban, y daban vueltas al rededor con indecible velocidad, pero luego que veían á nuestra Gente cerca volbian á alejarse con la misma ligereza: ultimamente se consiguió atraerlos con despachar hazia ellos á un Soldado, que deponiendo sus Armas en Tierra, y usando de ademanes, y señales de Paz, consintieron, que se arrimase: repartióles este algunas dadibas mientras llegaban los demas, que acabaron de asegurar¹⁹ aquellos Gentiles con algunos regalos mas quantiosos de Cintas, Abalorios, y Buguerias. Pidieronles por señas donde estaba el aguage, y ellos señalando hazia á una Arboleda, que se divisaba á lo lejos para el Nordeste, dieron á entender, que entre ella corria algun Rio, ó Arroyo, y que siguiesen que los llevarian á él.

Anduvieron cosa de tres leguas hasta llegar á las orillas de un Rio ceñido por una, y otra vanda de una Zeja de Sauzes, y Alamos muy frondosos, tendria su Caja veinte varas de ancho, y desaguaba en un Estero, que enplea Mar podia recibir la Lancha, y daba comodidad para hacer la aguada: entre la Arboleda havia variedad de Arbustos, y Plantas odoríferas como el Romerillo, la Salvia, Rosales de Castilla, y sobre todo cantidad de Par-[21]ras Silvestres, que á la sazón estaban en flor. El Pais era de aspecto alegre, y las Tierras de las inmediaciones del Rio parecieron de excelente migajon, y capaz de producir toda especie de frutos. El Rio bajaba de unas Sierras muy altas por una Cañada espaciosa, que se internaba la vuelta del Este, y Nordeste: á tiro de fusil desviado de él, y fuera del Monte se descubria un Pueblo, ó Ranchería de los mismos Gentiles, que guiaban á los nuestros, compuestos de varias enramadas, y Chozas de figura Piramidal cubiertas de Tierra. Al avistar á sus Compañeros con la Comitiva, que trahían salieron todos á recibirlos Hombres Mugerres, y Niños, convidando con sus Casas á los Huespedes:

¹⁹ MS. inserts á

men to make greater speed because they were weak, and after so long a sea voyage had, as it were, lost the use of their legs. The Indians stopped from time to time on some height to watch our men, showing the fear which the strangers caused them, by what they did to conceal it: they stuck one end of their bows into the ground, and, holding the other end, danced and whirled around it with incredible swiftness. But the moment they saw our men at hand, they took to flight with the same agility. At last we succeeded in attracting them by sending toward them a soldier, who, upon laying his arms on the ground and making gestures and signs of peace, was allowed to approach. He made them some presents, and meanwhile the others reached the Indians, and completely reassured them by giving them more presents of ribbons, glass beads, and other trifles. When asked by signs where the watering-place was, the Indians pointed to a grove which could be seen at a considerable distance to the northeast, giving to understand that a river or creek flowed through it, and that they would lead our men to it if they would follow.

They walked for about three leagues till they came to the banks of a river lined on both sides with overspreading cottonwoods of heavy foliage. Its bed was about twenty yards wide, and it emptied into a lagoon which at high tide could accommodate the launch, and afforded a convenient place to obtain water. In the grove there was a variety of shrubs and sweet-smelling plants, such as rosemary, sage, Castilian rose, and, above all, an abundance of wild grape-vines, which at that time were in flower. The country was of pleasing aspect, and the land in the neighborhood of the river appeared of excellent soil capable of producing all sorts of fruits. The river came down from some very high mountains through a wide canyon, which ran into the interior in an easterly and northeasterly direction. Within a musket-shot from the river, outside the wood, they discovered a town or village of the same Indians who were guiding our men. It was composed of various shelters made of branches, and huts, pyramidal in shape, covered with earth. As soon as they saw their companions with the company which they were bringing, all the inhabitants—men, women, and children—came out to receive them, and invited the strangers to their houses. The women

venian las Mugeres en traje honesto cubiertas de la cintura hasta la rodilla con redes tupidas, y dobles. Llegaronse los Españoles al Pueblo, que constaria de treinta á quarenta Familias, y á un lado de él se reparaba una Cerca hecha de ramas, y troncos de Arboles, en donde dieron á entender que se refugian para defenderse de sus Enemigos, quando se veían acometidos, fortificacion inexpugnable á las armas usadas entre ellos.

Son estos Naturales de buen talle, bien dispuestos, y agiles, van desnudos sin mas ropa, que un ceñidor texido en forma de red de [22]ixtle, ó pita muy fina, que sacan de una planta llamada Lechuguilla: sus carcaxas que sugetan entre el ceñidor, y el cuerpo son de pieles de Gato Montés, Coyote, Lobo, ó Gamo, y sus arcos tienen dos varas de largo; á mas de estas armas usan de una especie de macána de madera muy dura, cuya forma es semejante á la de un sable corto, y corbo, que arrojan de canto, y rompe el ayre con mucha violencia; despidenla á mayor distancia, que una piedra, sin él nunca salen al Campo, y si ven á una Vibora, ú otro Animal nocivo le tiran la macána, y comunmente lo parten de medio á medio. Segun experimentaron despues en el trato continuo que con ellos tuvieron nuestros Españoles, son de genio altivo, atrevidos, codiciosos, burlones, y baladrones, aunque de poco animo, hacen grande alarde de sus fuerzas, y tienen por mas esforzado al mas forzado; se perecen por qualesquiera trapo, pero con haver vestido á diferentes de ellos en repetidas ocasiones al dia siguiente se presentaban en cueros.

Hay en la Tierra Venados, Verrendos, muchas Liebres, Conejos, Ardillas, Gatos Montes, y Ratas; abundan las Tortolas torcasas, las Codornices, Calandrias, Sensontles, Tordos, Cardenales, y Chupamirtos, Grajos, Cuer-[23]vos, y Gavilanes, Alcatrazes, Gabiotas, Buzos, y otras Aves de rapiña Maritimas; no faltan Patos, ni Anzares de diferentes hechuras, y tamaños. Hay variedad de Pescados, los mejores son el Lenguado, y la Solla, que sobre ser de gusto delicado son de extraordinario tamaño, y pesan de quince, á veinte libras; en los meses de Julio, y Agosto se coge tanto Bonito como se quiere. En todo el año hay Meros,

were modestly dressed, covered from the waist to the knee with a close-woven, thick, netted fabric. The Spaniards entered the town which was composed of from thirty to forty families. On one side of it there was observed an enclosure made of branches and trunks of trees, in which, they explained, they took refuge to defend themselves against the attacks of their enemies, [as it is an] impregnable fortification against such arms as are in use among them.

These natives are well-built, healthy, and active. They go naked without other clothing than a belt—woven like a net—of ixtle, or very fine agave thread, which they obtain from a plant called *lechuguilla*. Their quivers, which they stick between the belt and the body, are made of the skin of the wildcat, coyote, wolf, or deer, and their bows are two yards long. In addition to these arms, they use a sort of throwing-stick of very hard wood, similar in form to a short curved sabre which they throw edge-wise, cutting the air with great force. They throw it farther than a stone, and never go into the surrounding country without it. When they see a snake or other noxious animal, they throw the throwing-stick at it, and generally cut the animal in two. As the Spaniards learned afterwards from their continued intercourse with the natives, they are of an overbearing disposition, insolent, covetous, tricky, and boastful; and although they have little courage, they boast much of their strength, and consider the strongest to be the most valiant. They beg for any rag of clothing; but after different ones on successive occasions had been clothed, on the following day they again presented themselves naked.

There are in the country deer, antelopes, many hares, rabbits, squirrels, wildcats, and rats. There is an abundance of turtle-doves, quail, larks, mocking-birds, thrushes, cardinal-birds, and humming-birds; jackdaws, crows, and sparrow-hawks; pelicans, gulls, divers, and other sea-birds of prey; and there is no lack of ducks and geese of various forms and sizes. There is a variety of fishes; the best are the sole and the sturgeon which, besides being of delicate taste, are of extraordinary size, weighing from fifteen to twenty pounds. In the months of July and August as great a quantity of bonito as desired may be caught, and all the year round

Burgaos, Gavallas, Cazones, Rayas, Almejas, y Mariscos de todas especies: en los meses de Invierno acude la Sardina en tanta abundancia como en las Costas de Galicia, y Ayamonte. El principal sustento de los Indios que habitan la Rivera de este Puerto es de Pescado, comen mucho marisco por la mayor facilidad, que tienen en cogerlo; usan Balsas de Enea, que manejan diestramente con Canaleta, ó remo de dos palas: sus fisgas son de unas varas largas, cuya punta es de hueso muy agusado, embutido en la madera, tan diestros en arrojarla, que rarisima vez yerran tiro.

Reconocido el aguage se restituyeron los Españoles á bordo de las Embarcaciones, y como estas se hallasen muy retiradas del Estero en que desagua el Rio, resolvieron sus Capitanes D. Vicente Vila, y D. Juan Perez, arrimarse á él quanto pudiesen para dar me-[24]nos que hacer á la Gente en el manejo de las Lanchas: hicieronse estas faenas con harto trabajo, porque de un dia á otro, iba creciendo el numero de los Enfermos, al paso que morian los mas agravados, y aumentaba la fatiga de los pocos que quedaban en pie.

Construyóse en las inmediaciones de la Playa á la parte del Este un corto recinto formado de un parapeto de tierra, y fagina, que se guarneció con dos Cañones: desembarcaronse algunas velas, y toldos de los Paquebots con las que se hicieron dos Tiendas capaces para Hospital: pusieron á un lado las suyas los dos Oficiales, los Padres Misioneros, y el Cirujano, y hallandose todo en estado de recibir los Enfermos se trajeron de abordó en las Lanchas, y se acomodaron en las Tiendas lo mejor que se pudo.

Pero no fueron bastantes estas diligencias á procurarles la salud, faltaban ya las Medicinas, y dietas que se consumieron casi todas durante la Navegacion: el Cirujano Don Pedro Prat suplia en el modo posible su falta con algunas yervas, que buscaba con mil afanes por los Campos, de cuya virtud tenia conocimiento, y de que necesitaba él mismo, tanto como los Enfermos, hallandose poco menos que postrado de la misma dolencia que ellos. [25]El frio se hacia sentir con rigor de noche en las Barracas, y el Sol de dia; alternativas que hacian sufrir cruelmente á los Enfermos: muriendose todos los dias dos, ó tres

there are bass, periwinkle, mackerel, dogfish, ray, and mussels, and cockles of all kinds. In the winter months, the sardine runs in as great abundance as on the coast of Galicia and Ayamonte. Fish constitutes the principal food of the Indians who inhabit the shore of this port, and they consume much shell-fish because of the greater ease they have in procuring them. They use rafts made of reeds, which they manage dexterously by means of a paddle or double-bladed oar. Their harpoons are several yards long, and the point is a very sharp bone inserted in the wood; they are so adroit in throwing this weapon, that they very rarely miss their mark.

Having examined the watering-place, the Spaniards returned on board the vessels, and as these were at a considerable distance from the lagoon into which the river empties, their captains, Don Vicente Vila and Don Juan Perez, resolved to come as close as possible to it, in order to lessen the work of the men in handling the launches. This duty was performed with great toil, as from day to day the number of the sick was growing, while those who were most seriously ill died, and the hardship of the few who were still able to stand on their feet was increased.

Close to the beach, on the east side of the port, a small enclosure was built with a parapet of earth and brushwood, and mounted with two cannon. Some sails and awnings were landed from the vessels and, with these, two tents suitable for a hospital were made. On one side were placed the tents of the two officers, the missionaries, and the surgeon. When everything was ready to receive the sick, they were brought on shore in the launches, and were housed in the tents as comfortably as possible.

These measures, however, were not sufficient to restore their health; for medicines and fresh food, most of which had been used up during the voyage, were wanting. The surgeon, Don Pedro Prat, supplied this want as far as possible, with some herbs which he sought with much trouble in the fields and whose properties he knew. He himself needed them as much as his patients, for he was all but prostrated by the same disease as they. In the barracks the cold made itself severely felt at night, and the sun by day: extremes which caused the sick to suffer cruelly. Every day, two or three of them died and the whole expedition, which

de ellos, y se vió reducida toda esta Expedicion, que se componia de mas de noventa Hombres á solo ocho Soldados, y otros tantos Marineros en estado de acudir al resguardo de los Buques, manejo de las Lanchas, Custodia del Real, y servicio de los Enfermos.

No havia noticia alguna de la Expedicion de Tierra, havianse registrado las inmediaciones del Puerto, buscando rastro de Caballada, pero no se descubrió ninguno, y no se sabia que pensar de su tardanza. Pero el dia catorce de Mayo los Indios dieron aviso á unos Soldados, que estaban en la Playa, que venian de la parte del Sur del Puerto unos Hombres Armados como ellos, y explicaban muy bien por señas, que venian montados en Caballos. Alegraronse todos con esta noticia, que se verificó de allí á poco avistandose la Gente, y la Requa del primer Trozo de la Expedicion de Tierra. Saludaronse mutuamente con festiva Salva de sus Armas, explicando despues con los brazos, y las voces su contento, que fue igual de una parte, y otra, porque todos esperaban hallar reciproco alivio en sus necesidades: [26]venia toda la Gente de Tierra, sin haver perdido un Hombre, ni traer un Enfermo, despues de una marcha de dos Meses, pero á media Racion, y sin mas Provisiones que tres Costales de Harina de que se les subministraban por toda Racion diaria dos Tortillas á cada Individuo. Descansaron aquel dia junto al Real de los Enfermos: surtieronse de bastimentos con que reparar sus fuerzas; y convinieron los Oficiales en transferir el Alojamiento cerca del Rio, lo que no se havia practicado antes, porque no pareció acertado dividir las pocas fuerzas con que se hallaban, empleadas al resguardo mutuo de los Buques, y de la Gente alojada en Tierra, atendiendo asimismo, á la mayor comodidad, y brevedad de los Transportes para no fatigar excesivamente á los que manejaban la Lancha, y á que la falta de Bestias de carga, precisaba llevar á hombros quanto se hechaba en la Playa.

Mudaronse todos al nuevo Real, que se transfirió una legua mas al Norte á la derecha del Rio sobre una Loma de mediana altura, donde se pudo atender con mas cuidado á los Enfermos, que el Cirujano D. Pedro Prat, no dejaba un instante, y asistia

had been composed of more than ninety men, was reduced to only eight soldiers and as many sailors who were in a condition to assist in guarding the ships, handling the launches, protecting the camp, and waiting upon the sick.

Nothing had [so far] been heard of the land-expedition. The neighborhood of the port had been examined in search of the tracks of the animals, but none were found, and no one knew what to think of the delay. On the 14th of May, however, the Indians informed some of the soldiers who were on the beach, that other similarly armed men were approaching from the south of the port, and explained very clearly by signs that they were mounted on horses. This news caused great rejoicing to all, and was soon found to be true, when the men and the pack-train of the first division of the land-expedition were sighted. They exchanged salutes by joyful volleys from their muskets, manifesting afterward their delight, which was as great on one side as on the other, by means of their arms and voices, as all hoped to find mutual relief from their wants. The whole land-expedition arrived without having lost a single man or even carrying one person sick after a journey of two months, although they were on half rations, and with no more provisions than three sacks of flour, of which each man received two cakes for his entire day's ration.

They rested on that day near the camp of the sick, and were supplied with food to recover their strength. The officers resolved to move the camp close to the river, which had not been done before because it was not deemed advisable to divide the small force they had for the protection at once of the vessels and of the people lodged on shore; at the same time, the greater convenience of a shorter distance for the transportation had to be taken into consideration, in order not to tire unduly the men who were handling the launch, as the want of beasts of burden obliged them to carry on their shoulders everything that was brought on shore.

All moved to the new camp which was transferred one league further north on the right bank of the river, on a hill of moderate height, where it was possible to attend with greater care to the sick, whom the surgeon, Don Pedro Prat, did not leave for a

con suma caridad: pero viendo que no se lograba mejoría[27] alguna en ellos, y que llegaría el caso de que por falta de Marineros, los dos Paquebots se imposibilitarian á salir del Puerto, se pensó seriamente en despachar á uno de ellos á San Blas con Pliegos para informar al Excmò. Sr. Virrey, y al Illmò. Sr. Visitador General del estado de ambas Expediciones.

Fue nombrado D. Juan Perez, Capitan del Principe para el efecto, resolviendo D. Vicente Vila quedarse en San Diego hasta recibir nueva orden, y el socorro de Gente que necesitaba, para executar lo que los Superiores determinasen.

Descargóse el Paquebot: transportaronse al Real parte de los efectos: transbordaronse los demas al San Carlos: aparejóse, y hallandose ya en disposicion de hacerse á la Vela, llegó el Gobernador D. Gaspar de Portolá con el segundo Trozo de la Expedicion de su mando el dia veinte, y nueve de Junio.²⁰

Enteróse luego del estado de las cosas de San Diego, y deseoso que la Expedicion de Mar se llevase á debido efecto, propuso á D. Vicente Vila darle diez, y seis Hombres de la Gente de su mando para seguir su Viage á Monterrey: pero como entre ellos no havia ninguno que fuese Marinero, no pudo Vila admitir su oferta, mayormente havien-[28]do perdido á todos sus Oficiales de Mar, Contramaestre, Guardian, y Patron de Lancha, sin tener de quien hechar mano para reemplazarlos.

Y considerando el Gobernador, que el accidente inopinado de los Barcos no le dispensaba de²¹ seguir su Viage á Monterrey por Tierra, respecto que todos los de su Tropa, y demas Comitiva se hallaban buenos, y que en su division llevó ciento sesenta y tres Mulas cargadas de Provisiones, contando asimismo con el socorro de Viveres que havia de traer el Paquebot nombrado San Joseph, que segun las disposiciones, y aviso del Illmò. Sr. Visitador General, debia suponerse navegando para el mismo destino; determinó continuar su marcha en demanda de aquel Puerto, sin aguardar á que la estacion se adelantase demasiado, para no exponerse á que las Nieves cerrasen el paso de las Sierras que hubiese en el transito, por que ya se sabia con la experiencia de

²⁰ MS. reads *Julio*

²¹ MS. omits *de*

moment and nursed with the utmost kindness. Seeing, however, that they did not improve, and that the contingency would arise in which the two packets would find it impossible to leave the port for want of seamen, they thought seriously of despatching one of them to San Blas with letters to inform the viceroy and the inspector-general of the condition of both expeditions.

Don Juan Perez, Captain of the *Principe* [or *San Antonio*] was appointed for this purpose, Don Vicente Vila deciding to remain at San Diego till he received new orders and the reinforcements necessary to carry out whatever his superiors might determine.

The packet [*San Antonio*] was [therefore] unloaded. Part of the cargo was transferred to the camp, and the remainder was put on board the *San Carlos*. The ship was made ready and was prepared to sail when the governor, Don Gaspar de Portolá, arrived with the second division of the expedition under his command, on the 29th of June.

He at once informed himself of the state of affairs at San Diego, and, desiring that the sea-expedition should be duly carried out, he offered to give to Don Vicente Vila sixteen men of his own command to continue his voyage to Monterey. But as there was not one sailor among them, Vila could not accept the offer, especially because he had lost all his sea officers—boatswain, quartermaster, and coxswain—without having anybody to replace them.

The governor was of opinion that the unforeseen misfortune of the ships did not excuse him from continuing his journey to Monterey by land, in view of the fact that all his soldiers and the rest of his men were in good health, and that he had in his division one hundred and sixty-three mules laden with provisions. He also counted upon the supplies which the packet *San Joseph* was to bring, as, according to the arrangements and advices of the inspector-general, this vessel could be presumed to be on its way to the same destination. He therefore determined to continue his march in search of that port, without waiting till the season had too far advanced, so as to avoid the risk of the snows blocking passage across the mountains that might be encountered on the way. For it was known already, from the experience of

aquel año, que nevaba mucho aun en San Diego, cuyas Sierras vieron nevadas á su arribo los que vinieron por Mar en Abril del mismo.

En esta inteligencia aceleró el Governador sus disposiciones, y propuso á los dos Oficiales de Exercito D. Pedro Fages, y D. Miguel Costansó de seguir en su compañía con los[29]Soldados que se hallasen en estado de hacer lo proprio, que á la sazón eran seis: abrazaron dichos Oficiales su oferta: y despues de haver dado parte al Excmò. Señor Virrey, y al Illmò. Sr. Visitador General de todo lo acaecido, y dispuesto hasta entones, el Paquebot San Antonio se hizo á la Vela con los Pliegos el dia nueve de Junio, con solos ocho Hombres de Tripulacion.

Dejóse en San Diego la Escolta, que pareció suficiente á la Custodia de la Mision, y de los Enfermos con el Cirujano Don Pedro Prat, para que continuase en asistirlos; dejóse tambien competente numero de Caballada, y Mulada para servicio de todos; y se quedaron con el fin de establecer aquella nueva Doctrina los Reverendos Padres Fr. Junipero Serrá, Fr. Juan Vizcayno, y Fr. Fernando Parron, aunque el primero, obligado á suspender su marcha por el cansancio, y fatiga pasada, quedó esperando Embarcacion en que pasar á Monterrey, cuyo destino havia elegido, y los Reverendos Padres Fr. Juan Crespi, y Fr. Juan Gomez siguieron la Expedicion en su Viage.

Fue la salida de San Diego en catorce de Junio del citado año de sesenta y nueve: marcharon juntos los dos Trozos de la Expedicion de Tierra, disponiendolo así el Comandan-[30]te por ser mucho el numero de Caballada, y cargas, pues solo de Provisiones, y Viveres se llevaron ciento, que estimó necesarias para racionar á toda la Gente, durante seis meses, previniendo de esta suerte la tardanza de los Paquebots, aunque se tenia por imposible que en este intermedio dejara de llegar alguno de ellos á Monterrey.

Observabase en las marchas el Orden siguiente: iba en la cabeza el Comandante con los Oficiales, los seis Hombres de los voluntarios de Cataluña, que se agregaron en San Diego, y algunos Indios Amigos, con palas, azadones, barras, hachas, y otros instrumentos de Gastadores, para desmontar, y abrir paso

that year, that it snowed much, even at San Diego where the hills were seen to be covered with snow by the men who had arrived by sea in April of the same year.

With this information, the governor hastened his preparations, and proposed to the two army officers, Don Pedro Fages, and Don Miguel Costansó, to accompany him with as many soldiers as might be in a condition to make the journey, of whom at that time there were six. The officers accepted the proposal, and, after sending to the viceroy and inspector-general an account of all that had taken place and been decided up to that time, the packet *San Antonio* set sail with the despatches on the 9th of June, with a crew of only eight men.

There was left at San Diego a guard which seemed sufficient for the protection of the mission and of the sick, with the surgeon, Don Pedro Prat, so that he might continue to attend them. An adequate number of horses and mules for the use of all was also left behind. The reverend fathers, Junípero Serra, Juan Vizcayno, and Fernando Parron, also remained to establish the new mission. The first-named, however, being obliged to discontinue his march because of the exhaustion and fatigue he had experienced, [only] remained to await a vessel in which to go to Monterey, the place he had chosen as his destination. The reverend fathers, Juan Crespí and [Francisco] Gomez accompanied the expedition on its journey.

The departure of the expedition from San Diego took place on the 14th of June, 1769. The two divisions of the land-expedition marched together, the commander making this disposition on account of the great number of animals and packs. For of provisions and supplies alone were carried one hundred [packs], which he believed necessary to supply the whole company during six months, and to provide for the case of delay of the packets, although it was thought impossible that in the meantime the one or the other of them should fail to reach Monterey.

The following order was observed on the marches: at the head, rode the commander with the officers, the six men of the Catalan volunteers, who had joined the expedition at San Diego, and some friendly Indians with spades, pick-axes, crowbars, axes, and other implements used by sappers, to cut the brush and to open

a passage wherever necessary. Next followed the pack train which was separated into four divisions, each one with its muleteers and an adequate number of soldiers of the garrison as an escort. In the rear-guard came Captain Fernando de Rivera, with the rest of the soldiers and friendly Indians, convoying the spare horses and mules.

The soldiers of the presidio in California, of whom justice and fairness oblige us to say that they worked incessantly on this expedition, use two sorts of arms—offensive and defensive. The defensive arms are the leather jacket and the shield. The first, whose shape is like that of a coat without sleeves, is made of six or seven plies of white tanned deerskin, proof against the arrows of the Indians, except at very short range. The shield is made of two plies of raw bull's hide; it is carried on the left arm and with it they turn aside spears and arrows, the rider not only defending himself, but also his horse. In addition to the above they use a sort of leather apron, called *armas* or *defensas*, which, fastened to the pommel of the saddle, hangs down on both sides, covering their thighs and legs, that they may not hurt themselves when riding through the woods. Their offensive arms are the lance—which they handle adroitly on horseback—the broadsword, and a short musket which they carry securely fastened in its case. They are men of great fortitude and patience in fatigue; obedient, resolute, and active, and we do not hesitate to say that they are the best horsemen in the world, and among those soldiers who best earn their bread for the august monarch whom they serve.

It must be borne in mind that the marches of this body with so great a train and [so many] obstacles, through unknown lands and on unused roads, could not be long. Not to mention other reasons that made it necessary to halt and camp early—the necessity of reconnoitering the country from day to day in order to regulate the marches according to the distance between the watering-places, and consequently to take the proper precautions. Sometimes they resumed their journey in the afternoon immediately after watering the animals, upon the reliable information that on the next stage there was little or no water, or a scarcity of pasture.

Los descansos se median con la necesidad de quatro en quatro dias mas, ó menos, segun la fatiga extraordinaria, ocasionada por mayor aspereza del camino, trabajo de los Gastadores, ó extravio de las Bestias, que se echaban menos en la Caballada, y era forzoso buscar por su rastro: otras vezes por la necesidad de contemporizar con los Enfermos, quando los hubo que con el tiempo fueron muchos, que á la continuada fatiga, á los excesivos calores, y frios crueles rindieron sus fuerzas.

Pero el mayor riesgo de estos Viages, y el enemigo mas temible, es la misma Caballada, sin la qual no pueden tampoco lograrse: asombranse de noche estos Animales en Pais que no conocen con increíble facilidad: bastales para dar estampida (segun terminos de esta Tierra) el descubrir á²⁴ un Coyote, ó Zorra: un Pajaro que pasa volando, el polvo que el vien-[33]to arroja son capaces de espantarlos, y hacerlos correr muchas leguas, precipitandose por Barrancas, y Despeñaderos, sin que valga humana diligencia para contenerlos: cuesta despues inmenso trabajo el recogerlos, lo que no es azequible siempre; y los que no murieron despeñados, ó se estropearon en su impetuosa carrera, quedan de ningun servicio en mucho tiempo; pero no experimentó atrazo considerable esta Expedicion, por semejante acaso, mediante el cuidado, y la vigilancia que se observó siempre; pues aunque en algunas ocasiones dieron los Animales estampida, no se siguió desgracia, ó perjuicio alguno porque fue de corta duracion.

En la forma, y segun el metodo referidos, executaron los Españoles sus marchas, atravesando Tierras immensas, mas fertiles y mas alegres á medida que internaban mas para el Norte: todas en general son pobladas de multitud de Indios, que salian á recibirlos, y en parte los acompañaban de un transito á otro; Gente muy docil, y mansa, mayormente de San Diego en adelante.

Los Indios en quienes se reconoció mas viveza, é industria, son los que habitan las Islas, y la²⁵ Costa de la Canal de Santa Barbara: viven en Pueblos, cuyas Casas de forma esferica á[34]modo de una media Naranja, cubiertas de Enea, tienen hasta veinte varas de diametro: contiene cada Casa tres, ó quatro Familias: el

²⁴ MS. omits *d*

²⁵ MS. omits *la*

Stops were made, as the necessity demanded, at intervals of four days, more or less, according to the extraordinary hardships occasioned by the greater roughness of the road, the labor of the sappers, and the straying of the animals—which happened less frequently with the horses—that had to be sought by their tracks. At other times, because it was necessary to accommodate the sick when there were any—and in course of time there were many—whose strength gave way under the continuous fatigue, and the excessive heat and intense cold.

But the pack-animals themselves constitute the greatest danger on these journeys and are the most dreaded enemy; though without them nothing could be accomplished. At night, and in a country they do not know these animals are very easily frightened. The sight of a coyote or fox is sufficient to stampede them—as they say in this country. A bird flying past, or dust raised by the wind is likely to frighten them and to make them run many leagues, throwing themselves over precipices and cliffs, defying human effort to restrain them, and it afterwards costs infinite pains to recover them, nor is this always possible; and those that were not killed by falling over a precipice, or lamed in their headlong race, are of no service for a long time. This expedition, however, suffered no serious detriment on this account, owing to the care and watchfulness which were always observed; and although, on some occasions, the animals were stampeded, no accident or injury whatever followed, because the stampede was of short duration.

In the order and manner described, the Spaniards made their marches over vast territories which became more fertile and more pleasant the further they penetrated to the north. In general, the whole country is inhabited by a large number of Indians, who came forth to receive the Spaniards, and some accompanied them from one place to another. They are very docile and tractable, especially from San Diego onward.

The Indians observed to have the greatest energy and industry are those who inhabit the islands and the coast of the channel of Santa Bárbara. They live in towns, the houses of which are spherical in form, like the half of an orange, are covered with reeds, and are as much as twenty yards in diameter.

Hogar está en medio: y en la parte superior de la Casa dejan respiradero, ó chimenea para dar salida al humo. En nada desmintieron estos Gentiles la afabilidad, y buen trato que experimentaron en otro tiempo los Españoles que abordaron á estas Costas con el General Sebastian Vizcayno. Son de buen tallo, y aspecto Hombres y Mugeres, muy amigos de pintarse, y embijarse la cara, y el cuerpo: usan grandes penachos de plumas, y unas banderillas que sujetan entre los cabellos, con diferentes dijea, y avalorios de Coral de varios colores. Los Hombres van enteramente desnudos, pero gastan en tiempo de frio unas capas largas de pieles de Nutria curtidas, y unos mantos hechos de las proprias pieles, cortadas en tiras largas, que tuercen de manera, que todo el pelo queda por defuera: tejen luego estos hilos unos con otros, formando trama, y les dan el corte referido.

Las Mugeres van con mas honestidad, ceñida la cintura con pieles de Venado curtido, que las cubren por delante, y por detras hasta mas de media pierna, con un capotillo de Nutria sobre el cuerpo: las hay de buenas[35]facciones; ellas son las que tejen las batéas, y vasijas de junco, á las quales dan mil formas diferentes, y figuras graciosas, segun los usos á que las destinan, ya sea para comer, beber, guardar sus Semillas, ú otros fines, porque no conocen estas Gentes el uso del barro, como lo usan las de San Diego.

Los Hombres labran hermosas batéas de madera, con embutidos firmes de coral, ó de hueso, y unos vasos de mucha capacidad cerrados de boca, que parecen hechos al torno, y que con esta maquina no saldrian mas bien vaciados, ni de forma mas perfecta: dan al todo un lustre, que parece obra acabada de mano de Artifice havil. Las vasijas grandes que contienen el Agua son de un tejido muy robusto de juncos embreados por dentro, y les dan la misma figura que á nuestras tinajas.

Para comer las Semillas, que gastan en lugar de Pan las tuestan primero en grandes batéas, echando entre las Semillas algunos guijarros, ó chinas, caldeadas hasta quedar rojas: mueven entonces, y menean la batéa para no quemarla, y dejando la Semilla suficientemente tostada, la muelen en morteros, ó

Each house contains three or four families. The fireplace is in the middle, and in the upper part of the house they leave an air-passage or chimney for the escape of the smoke. These Indians confirmed in every respect the affability and friendly treatment experienced in former times by the Spaniards who landed on this coast with General Sebastian Vizcayno. Both the men and the women are of good figure and appearance, and are fond of painting and staining their faces and bodies. They use large tufts of feathers, and hairpins which they put through their hair with various ornaments and coral beads of different colors. The men go entirely naked, but when it is cold they wear long capes of tanned otter-skins, and cloaks made of the same skins cut in long strips, and turned in such a manner that all of the fur is on the outside. They then weave these strips together, making a fabric, and give it the form mentioned above.

The women are dressed with more modesty, wearing around the waist tanned deerskins, which cover them in front and back more than half way down the leg, and a little cape of otter-skin over the body. Some of them have attractive features. It is they who weave the baskets and vessels of reeds, to which they give a thousand different forms and graceful patterns, according to the use for which they intend them—for eating, drinking, holding seeds, or other purposes, as these people do not understand the use of clay as it is used by the Indians of San Diego.

The men make beautiful bowls of wood with strong inlays of coral or bone, and some vessels of great capacity, contracted at the mouth, which appear as if turned in a lathe; in fact with this machine they could not be turned out better hollowed or more perfectly formed. To the whole they give a polish which seems the finished handiwork of a skilled artisan. The large vessels which contain water are made of a very strong texture of rushes, coated inside with pitch, and they give them the same shape as our jars.

In order to eat the seeds which they use instead of bread, they first of all roast them in large bowls, putting among the seeds red-hot pebbles or small stones; then they stir and shake the bowl so as not to burn it, and after the seeds are sufficiently roasted, they grind them in mills or stone mortars. Some of these

almirezes de piedra: hay de estos almirezes de tamaño extraordinario, tan bien labrados como si para el efecto tuviesen las mejores herramientas; y son[36] bien dignas de admiracion la constancia, prolijidad, y trabajo que emplean en acabar estas piezas, tan apreciabiles entre ellos mismos, que á los que dejan semejantes obras, para que no se pierda la memoria de su habilidad, y aplicacion, suelen colocarlas despues de su muerte encima del paraje donde fueron sepultados.

Entierran á los muertos, tienen sus Cementerios dentro del mismo Pueblo: los funerales de sus Capitanes se hazen con mucha pompa, y colocan sobre sus cuerpos unas varas, ó perchas sumamente altas de que cuelgan variedad de utiles, y muebles, que eran de su uso: ponen tambien en el mismo parage unas grandes tablas de Pino con diferentes pinturas, y figuras en que explicarán sin duda las hazañas, y proezas del Personage.

No es licita la pluralidad de Mugeres entre estas Gentes, solo los Capitanes tienen derecho de casar con dos. En todos sus Pueblos se puso reparo en una especie de Hombres, que vivian como las Mugeres, se acompañaban con ellas, vestian el mismo traje, se adornaban con avalorios, pendientes, gargantillas, y otros adornos Mugeriles, y lograban de grande consideracion entre ellos. La falta de Interprete, no permitió averiguar que clase[37] de Hombres eran, ni á que Ministerio se destinaban, aunque todos recelaron defecto en el sexo, ó algun abuso entre aquellos Gentiles.

En sus Casas tienen los Matrimonios sus camas separadas en tarimas levantadas del suelo: sus colchones son unos simples Petates, ó Esteras de Enea, y sus almohadas son de lo mismo, arrollados los Petates en la cabecera: todas estas camas estan colgadas con iguales Esteras, que sirven á la decencia, y defienden del frio.

Sobresale la destreza, y haviidad de estos Indios en la construccion de sus Lanchas hechas de tablazon de Pino: tienen de ocho á diez varas de largo comprendido²⁶ su lanzamiento, y vara, y media de manga: no entra en su fabrica hierro alguno, cuyo uso conocen poco; pero sujetan las tablas con firmeza unas con otras, labrando de trecho á trecho sus barrenos, á distancia

²⁶ MS. reads *incluso*

mortars are of extraordinary size, and as well formed as if the best tools had been used in making them. The patience, exactness and energy which they exercise in making these articles are well worthy of admiration. They are so highly valued among the Indians themselves that they have a custom to place them over the grave of those who did that kind of work, in order to preserve the memory of their skill and diligence.

They bury the dead, and their burying-grounds are within the town itself. The funerals of their chiefs are conducted with much pomp, and they erect over their bodies some very high rods or poles, on which they hang a variety of articles and utensils which they used. They also place on the same spot some large pine boards with various pictures and figures, representing, no doubt, the achievements and the valor of the individual.

Polygamy is not permitted among these people; the chiefs alone possess the right to take two wives. In all of their towns there was noticed a class of men who lived like women, associated with them, wore the same dress, adorned themselves with beads, earrings, necklaces, and other feminine ornaments, and enjoyed great consideration among their companions. The want of an interpreter prevented us from ascertaining what kind of men they were, or to what office they were designed; all suspected, however, a sexual defect or some abuse among those Indians.

In their houses the married people have their beds set apart on platforms raised above the ground. Their mattresses are some plain *petates*, or mats of rushes, and their pillows are the same kind of mats rolled up at the head of the bed. All these beds are hung with similar mats, which serve for decency, and as a protection from the cold.

The expertness and skill of these Indians is unsurpassed in the construction of their canoes of pine boards. They are from eight to ten yards in length from stem to stern-post, and one yard and a half in breadth. No iron whatever enters into their construction, and they know little of its use. But they fasten the boards firmly together, making holes at equal distances apart, one inch

de una pulgada del canto, correspondientes unos á otros en las tablas superiores, y en las inferiores, y por estos barrenos pasan fuertes ligaduras de nervios de Venado: embrean, y calafatean las costuras, y pintan el todo de vistosas colores; manejanlas con igual maña, y salen Mar afuera á pescar en ellas, tres, ó quatro Hombres, siendo capa-[38]zes de cargar hasta ocho, ó diez: usan remos largos de dos palas, y vogan con indecible lijereza, y velocidad: conocen todas las artes de pescar, y abunda el pescado sobre sus Costas, como se dixo de San Diego. Tienen comunicacion, y Comercio con los Naturales de las Islas, de donde sacan los avalorios de coral, que corren en vez de moneda por todas estas Tierras; aunque tienen en mas estimacion los avalorios de vidrio, que les daban los Españoles, ofreciendoles quanto poseen en cambio de ellos, como son batéas, pieles de Nutria, xicaras, y platos de madera; aprecian mas que todo qualesquiera navaja, é instrumento cortante, cuyas ventajas, sobre los de pedernal, admiran: causandoles mucha satisfaccion el vér hacer uso de las hachas, y machetes, y la facilidad con que los Soldados para hacer leña derivan un Arbol con dichos Instrumentos.

Son asimismo grandes Cazadores: para matar á los Venados, y Verrendos, se valen de una industria admirable: conservan el cuero de la cabeza, y parte del pescuezo de alguno de estos Animales, desollado con cuidado, dejandole sus llaves pegadas al mismo cuero, que relleñaron de sacáte, ó paja para conservarle su forma: aplicanse dicha armazon como gorro so-[39]bre la cabeza, y salen al Monte con este raro equipaje: en avistando al Venado, ó Verrendo van arrastrandose poco á poco con la mano izquierda en Tierra: en la derecha llevan el arco con quatro flechas: bajan, y levantan la cabeza, moviendola á un lado, y otro, y haciendo otras demonstraciones tan propias de estos Animales, que los atraen sin dificultad al lazo, y al tenerlos á corta distancia, les disparan sus flechas á golpe seguro.

Vieronse entre ellos algunos pedazos de Espada ancha, fierro, y fragmentos de plata labrada, que siendo de poca monta, hicieron novedad á nuestra Gente; y preguntados por señas, como adquirian aquellas cosas, señalaban que de la Tierra adentro azia Levante; y aunque el Nuevo Mexico se halla muy distante por aquel

from the edge, matching each other in the upper and lower boards, and through these holes they pass stout thongs of deer sinews. They pitch and calk the seams, and paint the whole with bright colors. They handle them with equal skill, and three or four men go out to sea to fish in them, as they will hold eight or ten [men]. They use long double-bladed oars, and row with indescribable agility and swiftness. They know all the arts of fishing, and fish abound along their coast, as was said of San Diego. They hold intercourse and commerce with the natives of the islands, from which they obtain the coral beads, which in all these parts take the place of money. They value, however, more highly the glass beads which the Spaniards gave them, offering in exchange for them all they possess, such as baskets, otter-skins, bowls, and wooden dishes. But above everything else, they esteem any kind of knife or sharp tool, admiring its superiority over those of flint; and it gives them much pleasure to see use made of axes and cutlasses, and the ease with which the soldiers felled a tree to make firewood by means of these tools.

They are also great hunters. In killing deer and antelopes, they employ an admirable device. They preserve the skin of the head and of part of the neck of one of these animals, removing it with care—with the horns left attached to the skin—and filling it with grass or straw to keep its form. This mask they put like a cap on the head, and with this odd equipment they set out for the woods. On seeing a deer or antelope, they crawl slowly with the left hand on the ground, carrying the bow and four arrows in the right. They lower and raise the head, turning it from one side to the other, and make other motions so characteristic of these animals, that they attract them without difficulty to the decoy, and having them at short range, they discharge their arrows with sure effect.

Among them were seen some pieces of broadsword, iron, and fragments of wrought silver, which, being of small value, surprised our men. Being questioned by signs how they obtained those things, they gave to understand that [they received them] from the interior, toward the east. Although New Mexico lies very distant in that direction, it is possible that [passing] from

Rumbo, es factible, que de mano en mano, con el tiempo hayan llegado á su poder dichas alhajas.

Su Lengua es sonora, y de facil pronunciacion: creyeron algunos hallarle cierta conexion con la Mexicana en la que la L, y T, suenan frecuentemente, como se reparó entre estos Naturales: pero los que poseen el Mexicano, podrán mejor inferirlo por las siguientes voces.

[40] <i>Voces de dicha Lengua.</i>	<i>Su valor en la Española.</i>
Nucchú	La Cabeza.
Kejuhé	El Pecho.
Huachajá	La Mano.
Chipucú	El Codo.
Tocholó	El Sobaco.
Tononomó	El Muslo.
Pistocú	La Rodilla.
Kippejué	La Pierna.
Acteme	El Pie.
Tomol	Lancha, ó Canoa.
Apa	Rancheria.
Temí	Capitan, ó Principal.
Amo	No.

*Voces Numericas.*²⁷

Pacá	Uno.
Excó	Dos.
Meseja	Tres.
Scumu	Quatro.
Itipaca	Cinco.
Itixco	Seis.
Itimasge	Siete.
Malahua	Ocho.
Upax	Nueve.
Kerxco	Diez.

[41] De la Canal de Santa Barbara en adelante, las Tierras no son tan pobladas, ni los Indios tan industriosos, pero son igualmente afables, y mansos. Siguieron los Españoles su Viage sin

²⁷ MS. reads *numerales*

hand to hand, in the course of time, these treasures had come into their possession.

Their language is sonorous and easy to pronounce. Some [of our people] believed that they could discover in it a certain relation to the Mexican, in which the *l* and *t* are often sounded as it was noticed among these natives. But those who have command of the Mexican will be better able to judge from the following words:

<i>Words in that language.</i>	<i>Their equivalent in Spanish.</i>	
Nucchú	La Cabeza	head
Kejuhé	El Pecho	breast
Huachajá	La Mano	hand
Chipucú	El Codo	elbow
Tocholó	El Sobaco	armpit
Tononomó	El Muslo	thigh
Pistocú	La Rodilla	knee
Kippejué	La Pierna	leg
Acteme	El Pie	foot
Tomol	Lancha ó Canoa	canoe
Apa	Rancheria	village
Temí	Capitan, ó Principal	chief
Amo	No	no

Numerals.

Pacá	Uno	one
Excó	Dos	two
Maseja	Tres	three
Scumu	Quatro	four
Itipaca	Cinco	five
Itixco	Seis	six
Itismasge	Siete	seven
Malahua	Ocho	eight
Upax	Nueve	nine
Kerxco	Diez	ten

From the Santa Bárbara Channel on, the country is not so thickly populated, nor are the Indians so industrious, but they are equally affable and gentle. The Spaniards continued their

oposicion hasta la Sierra de Santa Lucia, que consiguieron pasar con mucho trabajo: á la caída de dicha Sierra de la vanda del Norte, se halla el Puerto de Monterrey, segun relaciones antiguas, entre las Puntas de Pinos, y de Año nuevo. Dieron vista los Españoles á dichas Puntas en primero de Octubre del año de sesenta y nueve, y creyendo haver llegado al termino de su Viage despachó el Comandante los Exploradores para reconocer la de Pinos: en cuyas inmediaciones yace dicho Puerto por treinta y seis grados, quarenta minutos de latitud Boreal. Pero las señas escasas, y equivocas que de él refiere el Piloto Cabrera Bueno, unico Norte de este Viage, y la naturaleza de este Puerto, que mas antes merece el nombre de Bahía, siendo espaciosa (á semejanza de la de Cadiz) no confrontando con la idea, que es natural formarse, leyendo los Derroteros del referido Cabrera Bueno, ni con la latitud de treinta y siete grados, bajo la cual lo sitúa; se persuadieron los Exploradores á que el Puerto estaria mas al Norte, y volbieron al Campo, que ocupaban los nuestros, con[42] noticia de que no parecia en aquellos parages lo que se buscaba.

Contabanse á la sazón Enfermos, hasta diez, y siete Hombres, tullidos del Escorbuto: la estacion estaba adelantada, los trabajos de custodiar, y velar la Caballada, cargar la Requa, las Guardias del Real, y sobre todo los reconocimientos, y exploraciones del terreno pedian, por ser naturalmente pesados, mayor numero de Gente, que la que havia en estado de hacer este servicio; de suerte, que el Comandante, hallandose dudoso en el partido que mas convendria abrazar entre aguardar en aquel parage á que pareciese algun Barco, ó seguir la marcha en busca del Puerto de Monterrey, en que consideraba las dificultades, que van expuestas, no atreviendose á resolver por sí en este asunto, llamó á Consejo á sus Oficiales, que unanimes con él fueron de sentir, que se siguiese la marcha, pues de no llegar al Puerto, y Paradero de los Barcos para entregarse de los Viveres utiles, y Municiones necesarias al Establecimiento, que debia hacerse en Monterrey, no debian prometerse el socorro que tanto necesitaban, ni era posible formar el Establecimiento que se havia mandado; y que

journey without opposition as far as the Sierra de Santa Lucía, which they succeeded in crossing, [although] with much trouble. At the foot of the northern slope of that range there lies, according to old accounts, the Port of Monterey, between the Punta de Pinos and the Punta de Año Nuevo. The Spaniards sighted these points on the 1st of October, 1769. Believing that they had reached the end of their journey, the commandant sent the explorers to reconnoiter the Punta de Pinos, in whose vicinity the port lies in $36^{\circ} 40'$ north latitude. But the brief and ambiguous landmarks which the pilot Cabrera Bueno—the only guide on this journey—gives for it, and the nature of this port, which, being so spacious—like that of Cadiz—deserves rather the name of bay, did not agree with the idea which would naturally be formed in reading the sailing-directions of Cabrera Bueno, nor with the latitude of 37° in which he places it. [From these considerations] the explorers were convinced that the port must lie farther to the north, and they returned to the camp which our men occupied, with the news that the port they were seeking could not be found in those parts.

There were at that time as many as seventeen men afflicted with scurvy. The season was advanced, and the labor of looking after the animals and watching them at night; the loading of the pack-animals; the guarding of the camp; and, above all, the reconnoitering and exploring of the country, which was of necessity toilsome; required a larger number of men than were in condition to perform these duties. Consequently, the commander was in doubt as to the most appropriate measures to adopt; whether to wait there till some vessel should appear, or to continue the march in search of the Port of Monterey. He considered the difficulties which have been mentioned, and, not venturing to decide the matter himself, he called a council of his officers, who agreed with him in the opinion that the march should be continued. For [they argued] if they did not reach the port and destination of the vessels so as to receive the supplies, utensils, and munitions necessary for the settlement to be made at Monterey, they could not expect the relief which they so much needed, nor would it be possible to make the settlement which had been ordered; and, finally, it was better to proceed

por ultimo convenia mas pasar en busca del Puerto, que no havia de estar lejos, segun[43] toda evidencia, que tomar desde luego un partido, que siempre se estaba á tiempo de elegir, en caso que fuesen á peor los Enfermos, ó se aumentase el numero de ellos.

Resolvióse pues, proseguir el Viage, volviendo en esta ocasion la espalda al Puerto que se buscaba. Los Enfermos padecieron mucho en esta marcha: vieronse algunos á toda extremidad, lo que retardaba notablemente la marcha,²⁸ siendo preciso hacer descanso á cada transito; empezaron en este tiempo (á fines de Octubre) las Aguas, y con ellas entró una Epedemia de diarrea, que se comunicó á todos sin excepcion, y se llegó á temer, que esta Enfermedad, que prostraba las fuerzas, y dejaba á los Sugetos exanimos, no acabase enteramente con la Expedicion; pero sucedió muy al contrario, porque quantos adolecian, y padecian del Escorbuto, tullidos, hinchados de todos sus miembros, y cargados de dolores, empezaron desde entonces á experimentar alivio en sus males: disiparonse poco á poco las hinchazones, cesaron los dolores, recobraron el uso de sus miembros, y por ultimo su perfecta salud, sin medicamento alguno.

El dia ultimo de Octubre llegó la Expedicion de Tierra á vista de la Punta de los Reyes, y Farallones del Puerto de San Francis-[44]co, cuyas señas confrontadas con las que refiere el Derrotero del Piloto Cabrera Bueno, se hallaron exactas. Entonces se vino en evidente conocimiento de que el Puerto de Monterrey se havia dexado atrás, siendo pocos los que duraban en la opinion contraria: sin embargo el Comandante resolvió embjar á reconocer el terreno hasta la Punta de los Reyes; los Exploradores que fueron comisionados para el efecto se vieron atajados por inmensos Esteros, que se internan extraordinariamente en la Tierra, y precisaban á dar grandes rodeos para descabezarlos: emplearon tres dias en este reconocimiento, y volbieron diciendo, que segun las señas que les dieron los Indios, no podian dudar que el Puerto dejase de estar muy cerca, y que seguramente havia llegado alguno de los Paquebots, que creian ser el San Joseph á su destino: hizóse poco aprecio de esta noticia adquirida por el equivoco medio de señas de manos, y cabeza, que en semejantes ocasiones usurpan el oficio de la lengua; sin embargo para no

²⁸ MS. reads *lo que la retardaba notablemente*

in search of the port—which, according to all evidence, could not be far—than to adopt a course now which could at any time be adopted, in case the sick should get worse or their number should increase.

They therefore resolved to continue the journey, thus turning their backs on the port they were seeking. The sick suffered much on this march, and some of them were reduced to the last extremity. This considerably delayed the march, as it was necessary to rest at each stopping-place. At this time—the latter part of October—the rains had set in, and with them came an epidemic of diarrhoea which attacked everybody, without exception. It was even feared that this disease, which exhausted the strength and broke the spirit of the men, would entirely put an end to the expedition. But quite the opposite happened: for all those who were ill and suffering from scurvy—being crippled and swollen in all their limbs, and tormented with pains—from now on began to feel relief from their ailments. The swellings gradually disappeared, the pains ceased, they recovered the use of their limbs, and ultimately were restored to perfect health without any medicine whatever.

The last day of October, the land-expedition sighted the Punta de los Reyes and the Farallones of the Port of San Francisco, which landmarks, when compared with the sailing-directions of the pilot Cabrera Bueno, were found to be correct. It then came to be recognized as obvious that the Port of Monterey had been left behind, and there were few who adhered to the contrary opinion. Nevertheless, the commander decided to have the country reconnoitered as far as the Punta de los Reyes. The explorers who were sent out for this purpose found their progress obstructed by immense estuaries which penetrate the land to a very great distance, and to pass around which great detours were necessary. They spent three days on this exploration, and on their return said that from signs made to them by the Indians, there was no doubt in their minds that the port was very near, and that they felt certain one of the packets—which they believed was the *San Joseph*—had reached its destination. Little importance was attached to this information—obtained by the means of signs made by the hands and the head,

retirarse con este escrupulo, se resolvió pasar adelante, hasta cerciorarse del hecho: llegados al remate del primero Estero, y reconocido el Terreno, que se havia de seguir para llegar á la Punta de los Reyes, interrumpido con nuevos Esteros, escaso de Pastos, y[45]de Leña, haviendose conocido á demas de esto lo incierto de la noticia, y la equivocacion que padecieron los Exploradores. El Comandante, con parecer de sus Oficiales, resolvió la retirada azia la Punta de Pinos, con esperanzas de hallar al Puerto de Monterrey, y encontrar en el, al Paquebot el San Joseph, ó el San Antonio, cuyo socorro se hacia ya necesario, pues de las Provisiones que se tomaron en San Diego, no quedaban mas que unos quantos costales de Harina de que se les subministraba á cada individuo una corta Racion diaria. Con la Polvora, y el Plomo se suplia en algo la falta de las demas cosas, porque era abundante la caza, sobre todo la de Anzares, y Patos, que en tiempo de Invierno abundan extraordinariamente por aquella Tierra.

El dia once de Noviembre se puso en execucion la retirada en demanda de Monterrey: los Españoles llegaron á dicho Puerto, y Punta de Pinos en veinte, y ocho de Noviembre: mantuvieronse en este Sitio hasta el dia diez de Diciembre, sin que en este tiempo hubiese parecido Embarcacion alguna, por cuyo motivo viendose asimismo faltos de Viveres, y que la Sierra de Santa Lucia iba cubriendose de Nieve, el Comandante D. Gaspar de²⁹ Portolá se vió abligado á tomar el par-[46]tido de continuar la retirada hasta San Diego, dejando para mejor ocasion el bolver á la Empresa.

Experimentaron los Españoles en esta retirada algunos trabajos, y necesidades, porque faltaron enteramente las Provisiones, y que las largas marchas, que la necesidad obligaba hacer para llegar á San Diego, no daban tiempo á buscar el sustento en la caza, ni esta abundaba igualmente en todas partes: mataronse en esta ocasion doze Mulas de la Requa, de cuya carne se alimentó la Gente hasta San Diego, á cuyo nuevo Establecimiento llegaron todos con salud en veinte y quatro de Enero de mil setecientos setenta.

Hallaronse en buen estado sus humildes Fabricas, cercadas

²⁹ MS. omits *de*

which on such occasion take the place of the tongue. Nevertheless, that they might not turn back with this uncertainty, they decided to go forward and assure themselves of the facts. They reached the end of the first estuary, and the country having been reconnoitered over which they would have to pass to come to the Punta de los Reyes, it was found broken up by estuaries and lacking in pasture and firewood. Realizing, moreover, the uncertainty of the news, and the possibility of misunderstanding on the part of the explorers, the commander, with the advice of his officers, resolved to return to the Punta de Pinos. They hoped to discover the Port of Monterey, and to find in it either the *San Joseph* or the *San Antonio*, whose assistance had now become necessary, as of the provisions brought from San Diego there were left only a few sacks of flour, of which a small daily ration was distributed to each individual. With powder and lead the lack of other things was to a certain extent supplied, for there was an abundance of game—above all, geese and ducks, which in winter are remarkably plentiful in that region.

On the 11th of November, the return march in search of Monterey was begun. The Spaniards reached that port and the Punta de Pinos on the 28th of November. They remained there until the 10th of December, during which time no vessel appeared. For this reason, and seeing also that they were short of provisions, and that the Sierra de Santa Lucía was beginning to be covered with snow, the commander, Don Gaspar de Portolá, found himself obliged to take the step of continuing the retreat to San Diego, postponing to a more favorable occasion the renewal of the undertaking.

On this return march, the Spaniards experienced some hardships and privations because the provisions had been entirely consumed, and because the long marches necessary to reach San Diego left no time to obtain food by hunting, nor was game equally abundant in all places. In these circumstances, twelve pack-mules were killed on whose meat the men subsisted as far as San Diego. All arrived at this new establishment in good health on the 24th of January, 1770.

Its modest buildings, surrounded by a palisade of logs capable

de palizada de troncos de arboles, capaz de buena defensa en caso necesario: recobrados de la fatal Epidemia del Escorbuto á muchos de los Soldados, y Marineros que quedaron Enfermos en el año antecedente, aunque el mayor numero de ellos, y eran los que primero havian contrahido el contagio en el Mar, murieron irremediabilmente.

Los Reverendos Padres Misioneros estaban convaleciendo de la comun Enfermedad, como tambien el Cirujano Don Pedro Prat,[47] y Dn. Vicente Vila, porque el contagio no perdonó á persona alguna de los que en esta Expedicion fueron comprendidos.

Havia en San Diego Provisiones de Mayz, Harina, y Semillas suficiente á la manutencion de los que componian el Presidio para algunos Meses, pero con la venida de sesenta Huespedes, no podia contarse que durasen mucho tiempo, y era de temer que si los Barcos tardasen en traer el Socorro sobre que se contaba, no se viesen aquellos Españoles obligados de la hambre á abandonar enteramente una Conquista, que aun siendo muy feliz havia costado tantos sudores, y tantas vidas: mas para no exponerse á tal descredito, dispuso el Comandante, que el Capitan del Presidio de California con quarenta Hombres siguiese la Marcha hasta aquella Peninsula, con el fin de acopiar en sus Misiones los Viveres que pudiese, y traer el Ganado en pie, que segun se dijo al principio havia quedado en Velicatá, y cuya flaqueza no permitió siguiera la Marcha: acertada providencia, en que se miraba á la actual conservacion de lo adquirido, disminuyendo el crecido numero de consumidores de los Viveres que havia existentes, y á los modios de hacerles subsistir en lo sucesivo, aun quando faltasen los Socorros Mariti-[48]mos, tan importantes para llevar á debido efecto la deseada Empresa de Monterrey.

Salió este Destacamento, con el objeto dicho en diez de Febrero de mil setecientos setenta. Y por este medio se dió nuevamente cuenta al Excmò. Sr. Virrey, é Illmò. Sr. Visitador General del estado de las cosas, lo acaecido, visto, y descubierto hasta entonces por aquellos Españoles en su dilatado Viage de la California Septentrional, en donde los que quedaban esperando las Ordenes de dichos Superiores tardaron poco en recibir el consuelo que pedia el triste estado á que se veian reducidos.

of being easily defended in case of need, were found in good condition. Many of the soldiers and sailors who had been left sick the year before had recovered from the disastrous epidemic of scurvy, but the greater number of those who had first contracted the disease while at sea had died, despite the efforts made for their recovery.

The missionary fathers as well as the surgeon, Don Pedro Prat, and Don Vicente Vila, were recovering from the common malady, for the contagion had not spared a single person of those who were included in the expedition.

There was in San Diego a supply of corn, flour, and grain sufficient to maintain for several months those who composed the garrison. But with the arrival of sixty additional men, it could not be depended upon to last long, and it was to be feared that if the vessels were late in bringing the relief counted upon, the Spaniards would find themselves compelled by hunger to abandon altogether a conquest which, although very successful, had cost so much toil and so many lives. Lest he should incur such discredit, the commander gave orders that the captain of the presidio in California with forty men, should continue the march to the peninsula, to obtain from its missions all provisions he could, and to bring the cattle, which, as was said in the beginning, had been left at Velicatá, being too weak to continue the journey. This wise measure [not only] aimed at the present conservation of what had been acquired by reducing the increased number of consumers of the available provisions, [but also] provided for the future subsistence, even if the relief by sea—so important for the success of the desired enterprise of Monterey—should fail to arrive.

This detachment set out for the purpose mentioned on February 10, 1770. By this means, a new account was despatched to the viceroy and to the inspector-general of the state of affairs, and of the events and discoveries of the Spaniards up to that time, on their long journey to Northern California, where those who remained awaiting the orders of their superiors received before long the consolation which their sad condition required.

El día veinte, y tres^{to} de Marzo llegó, y dió fondo en el Puerto de San Diego el Paquebot de Su Magestad el San Antonio al mando de su Capitan, y Piloto D. Juan Perez; haviase hecho á Vela de San Blas en veinte de Diciembre del año pasado de mil setecientos sesenta, y nueve, experimentó en su Viage recios temporales, y vientos contrarios, que lo hecharon á quatrocientas leguas de la Costa, y haviendose visto precisado volber en demanda de esta para hacer agua, tomó Tierra por treinta, y cinco grados de Latitud, desde donde presentando la Proa al Sur, y el costado izquierdo á la Costa en busca de algun Surgidero, arri-[49]bó á la Punta de la Concepcion por treinta, y quatro grados, y medio de Latitud Norte; Tierra la mas Occidental de la Canal de Santa Barbara, á cuyo abrigo consiguió hacer su aguada junto á una Poblacion de Gentiles, quienes le dieron razon individual de la Expedicion de Tierra, declarando por señas nada equivocas, como havian pasado los Estrangeros yendo para el Norte, y bolvieron despues á pasar faltos de comida, tirando para el Sur, montados en sus Caballos, lo que expresaban poniendose en semejante postura sobre los barriles, que los Marineros echaban en Tierra, y haciendo otras demonstraciones propias de un Hombre á Caballo. Referian asimismo los nombres de varios Soldados, que como fuesen conocidos de algunos de los Marineros, se echó de ver, que no sonaban á casuales aquellas voces.

Convencido Perez de que la Expedicion de Tierra se havia retirado, en lo que no admitió duda, porque no ignoraba, que los Viveres no podian haverles durado hasta entonces, determinó arribar á San Diego para subministrarles lo que necesitasen á fin de facilitar su Viage la vuelta de Monterrey su destino.

Este era el partido que convenia tomar,[50]y tomó en efecto el Comandante D. Gaspar de Portolá, sin embargo de hallarse con poca Tropa para emprender segunda vez una marcha tan dilatada; pero el conocimiento que tenia de la buena indole de los Naturales de aquellas Tierras, y la Hospitalidad, que tan exactamente, y en todas partes havian observado con los Españoles en su primera entrada, quitó en esta ocasion todo recelo, y desconfianza; quedó resuelta la marcha, y tomando las Provisiones necesarias se puso por obra en diez y siete de Abril del corriente

⁵⁰ MS. reads 23

On the 23rd of March, His Majesty's packet *San Antonio*, under command of its captain and pilot, Don Juan Perez, arrived and cast anchor at the Port of San Diego. Having set sail from San Blas on December 20, 1769, it had encountered on its voyage violent storms and contrary winds which drove it four hundred leagues from the coast. Being compelled to return towards the coast again to take on water, it made land in latitude 35° . From there, turning southward, with the coast to larboard, in search of an anchoring place, it put in under the Punta de la Concepcion—latitude north $34^{\circ} 30'$ —the most westerly land of the Santa Bárbara Channel. In this harbor the vessel succeeded in taking on water near an Indian town, whose inhabitants gave first-hand information of the land-expedition, explaining by unmistakable signs how the strangers had passed going north, and had returned afterwards, short of food, proceeding to the south. They showed how our men were mounted on horses by placing themselves in a similar manner on the barrels which the sailors had brought on shore, and made other motions characteristic of a man on horseback. They also mentioned the names of several soldiers, which, being known to some of the sailors, proved that it was not by chance they uttered these words.

Being convinced beyond all doubt that the land-expedition had turned back, since he knew that the provisions could not have lasted them so long, Perez determined to put into San Diego to supply them with what they needed to enable them to return to Monterey, their destination.

This was the course that it was proper to take, and which was taken by the commander, Don Gaspar de Portolá, in spite of the fact that he had but few men to undertake a second time such a long march. But the knowledge he had of the good disposition of the natives of those regions, and the hospitality which they had so consistently observed everywhere towards the Spaniards on their first coming, overcame all misgiving and distrust in this respect. The march was resolved upon, and, taking the necessary provisions, it was begun on the 17th of April of the current year [1770], with only twenty men—soldiers of the

año, con solos veinte Hombres entre Soldados Presidenciales, y Voluntarios de Cataluña con su Oficial D. Pedro Fages.

El Ingeniero D. Miguel Costansó,²¹ conforme á las Ordenes con que se hallaba se embarcó en el Paquebot el San Antonio, á cuyo bordo se transfirió tambien el Reverendísimo Padre Presidente Fr. Junípero Serrá, y se hizo á la Mar esta Embarcacion en diez y seis de Abril del propio año.

Llegaron todos á Monterrey, los de Tierra en veinte y tres de Mayo; y el San Antonio en treinta y uno del dicho arrojó sus anclas en el mismo Puerto, y Pondeadero, en donde ciento sesenta y ocho años antes estuvo Surta la Esquadra del General Viscay-[51]no, enviada por el Conde de Monterrey al Descubrimiento de estas Costas, de Orden del Señor Don Felipe Tercero. Hallase este Puerto conforme se dixo, por treinta y seis grados, y quarenta minutos de latitud Septentrional, á la cayda de la Sierra de Santa Lucia de la parte del Norte de ella. Su principal abrigo es la Punta de Pinos tendida (no de Nordeste Sudoeste conforme la sitúa el Piloto Cabrera Bueno) sino de Noroeste Sueste, y de la vanda del Nordeste de ella, se halla el Surgidero en que puede anclar qualesquiera Embarcacion por quatro, seis, ocho brazadas fondo de Arena menuda, buen tenedero, segun estuviere mas, ó menos inmediata á Tierra.

La Punta de Pinos que defiende el Surgidero del Noroeste está toda ceñida de piedras, y de²² cantiles, pero despues de las piedras entra una hermosa Playa bordada de Meganos la vuelta del Este, girando luego al Nordeste, y Norte hasta un Estero muy grande con diferentes brazos, distante del principio de la Playa dicha, mas de tres leguas: sigue despues la Costa bolviendo al Noroeste, y Oeste de Tierra algo gruesa vestida de Arboleda acantilada en partes, hasta la Punta de Año nuevo que muere en la Mar por treinta, y siete grados, y tres minutos de Latitud quedando el surgidero rodea-[52]do de la Tierra por todas partes, menos del Nornoroeste por donde unicamente carece de abrigo.

La Tierra que registra esta inmensa Bahía vista desde la Mar, forma una agradable perspectiva, porque mirando para el Sur no deja vér la Sierra de Santa Lucia, que despidiendo de sí unas lomas mas bajas á proporcion que se arriman á la Playa, coro-

²¹ MS. reads *Constansó*

²² MS. omits *de*

garrison and Catalan volunteers—with their officer, Don Pedro Fages.

The engineer, Don Miguel Costansó, in accordance with his orders, embarked in the packet *San Antonio*, which also carried Father Junípero Serra. This ship put to sea on the 16th of April of the same year.

They all reached Monterey—the land-expedition on the 23rd of May, and the *San Antonio* on the 31st of the same month cast anchor in the same port and anchoring-ground, where one hundred and sixty-eight years before had anchored the squadron of General Vizcayno, sent by the Count of Monterey for the discovery of these coasts, by order of Philip III. As has been said, this port lies in $36^{\circ} 40'$ north latitude, at the foot of the northern slope of the Sierra de Santa Lucía. Its principal shelter is the Punta de Pinos extending, not as the pilot Cabrera Bueno puts it, from northeast to southwest, but from northwest to southeast. On the northeast side of it is the anchorage, where any vessel can anchor in four, six, or eight fathoms, with a bottom of fine sand, and good holding, according as it is more or less close to the shore.

The Punta de Pinos, which protects the anchorage to the northwest, is entirely surrounded by rocks and cliffs, but behind the rocks there extends a beautiful beach, bordered on the east by sand-banks, which soon turns to the northeast and north as far as a very large estuary with several arms, at a distance of over three leagues from the beginning of the beach. Thence the coast turns to the northwest and west as far as the Punta de Año Nuevo which terminates in the ocean at $37^{\circ} 3'$ latitude [north]. The soil is rather heavy and covered with trees, and steep in places. In this manner the anchorage is on all sides surrounded by land, except on the north-northwest, where alone it lacks shelter.

The land surrounding this immense bay offers, when seen from the sea, a very pleasing view. For, looking south, one sees the Sierra de Santa Lucía, sending out its foothills which grow lower as they approach the shore and whose ridges, crowned with pines

nadas sus cumbres de Pinos, y cubiertas de Pastos presentan un magnifico anfiteatro, que se hace mas vistoso con el verdor de diferentes Cañadas, que interrumpen el terreno, y causan admirable variedad, y harmonia á los ojos. No tiene agua corriente este Puerto, pero se halla la suficiente en una ondonada, ó bajial al Sueste del desembarcadero, que es donde principia la Playa, en cuyo Parage se pasa á seco un Estero, que se llena solamente en mareas vivas, y se interna bastante³³ hacia el Este. Este bajial es muy humedo, y por tanto crece mucha yerva en él, y siempre se mantiene verde: cabando pues en qualquiera parte, y abriendo pozos, se hallará agua dulce, y buena casi al pelo de la Tierra; y será mejor si se quiere practicar esta diligencia un poco mas adentro en alguna Cañadita de las muchas que alli vienen á desembocar, pues en ellas se descubrieron va-[53]rios manantiales, aunque cortos de excelente agua.

De la vanda del Nordeste, y del Este, se estiende el Pais en hermosas llanuras, que terminan en la Sierra con varias Lagunitas, aunque las mas son de Agua solóbre, en algunas se quaja mucha sal; el terreno en general es arenisco, pero hay muchos bajiales de excelente migajon: y al Sur del Puerto, á distancia de dos leguas cortas hay una Cañada espaciosa, por la qual baja el Rio llamado del Carmelo, donde hay unos Sacatáles, ó Pajonales, que cubren enteramente á³⁴ un Hombre á Caballo, prueba de la feracidad del terreno; sus producciones son apreciables, porque hay Nogales, Avellanos, y Cerezos, como en Europa: Zarzamora, Rosales, Yerba buena en todas partes.

En la Sierra hay Robles, y Encinos corpulentisimos, que producen buena Bellota, Pinos, que crian Piñas, y Piñones en abundancia: Bosques de Sabinos, de Cipreses, y otros varios Palos.

Los Naturales de Monterrey viven en la Sierra: los mas cercanos á la Playa distan de ella como legua, y media, bajan á veces, y salen á pescar en Balzitas de Enea, pero no debe ser la pesca su principal mantenimiento, y so-[54]lo recurrirán á ella quando les ayudare poco la caza, que abunda mucho en lo interior de la Sierra, sobre todo la del Verrendo, y Venado. Son estos Serranos muy numerosos, en extremo dociles, y mansos: nunca

³³ MS. omits *bastante*

³⁴ MS. omits *á*

and covered with pasturage, form a magnificent amphitheatre. Its beauty is enhanced by the verdure of the different canyons which intersect the country, presenting an admirable variety and harmony to the eyes. This port has no running water, but enough of it is found in a bottom or low place to the southeast of the landing, where the beach begins. Here one passes, dry-shod, an estuary which is filled only at high tide, and which runs inland quite a distance to the east. This low place is very moist, so that much grass grows there, which keeps always green; therefore, by digging and opening wells in any place, water can be found almost on the surface of the earth which is fresh and good and would be better if one were to do this operation a little further inland, in one of the many little glens which empty here. For in them have been found several springs, which, though small, contain excellent water.

On the northeastern and eastern shore, the country extends in beautiful plains which end in the mountains. There are several lagoons, but most of them contain brackish water, and in some much salt is formed. The soil in general is sandy, but there are many low places with excellent subsoil. To the south of the port, at a distance of two short leagues, there is a wide canyon through which flows the river called the Carmelo, and where the tall grasses and reedlike shrubs in places entirely cover a man on horseback, [thus giving] proof of the fertility of the soil. Its products are valuable, inasmuch as they are walnut, hazelnuts, and cherries, just as in Europe, and everywhere are blackberries, roses and yerba buena.

In the mountains, there are very large white oaks and live-oaks which bear good acorns; pines bearing cones and yielding an abundance of pine-nuts; and groves of junipers, cypresses, and various other trees.

The natives of Monterey live in the hills, the nearest about one and a half leagues from the beach. They come down sometimes and go out fishing in little rafts of reeds. It seems, however, that fishing does not furnish their chief means of subsistence, and they have recourse to it only when hunting has yielded little. Game is very plentiful in the mountains, especially antelopes and deer. These mountaineers are very numerous,

solian venir á visitar á los Españoles sin llevarles buen regalo de caza, que comunmente se componia de dos, ó tres Venados, ó Verrendos, que ofrecian sin exigir, ni siquiera pedir cosa alguna : su buena indole ha dado á los Reverendos Padres Misioneros bien fundadas esperanzas de Conquistarlos brevemente á la Fé de Christo.

Abunda en estas Costas el Pescado no menos que en la Canal de Santa Barbara, y Puerto de San Diego: los Ballenatos, y Lobos Marinos son sin numero, y con el tiempo podria tal vez facilitarse la Pesca de los primeros en la misma Bahía.

Erigiósse en aquella Tierra conforme lo mandado, un Presidio, y Mision con la Advocacion de San Carlos, cooperando todos con igual esmero, y solicitud, Tropa, Marineria, y sus respectivos Oficiales á los humildes principios de tan importante Establecimiento; en el que concluidas las obras Provisionales que se regularon mas precisas para los Reverendos Padres Misioneros, y la Tropa del Presidio, y proyectadas las demas que debian hacerse despues, se Almacenó la carga del Paquebot, y se tomó la resolucion por el Comandante Don Gaspar de Portolá de embarcarse en él con el Ingeniero Don Miguel Costansó, dejando el mando al Theniente de Infanteria Don Pedro Fages, segun le estaba prevenido en sus Instrucciones; y para ayudar á la Tropa en sus trabajos quedaron nueve Marineros de refuerzo en Monterrey.

Salió el San Antonio de aquel Puerto el nueve de Julio de este año, llegó felizmente al de San Blas el primero de Agosto; y habiendo arribado despues al mismo el otro Paquebot San Carlos, que bolvió desde San Diego, se disponen ambos á emprender nuevo Viage en el proximo mes de Noviembre para conducir separados por el Golfo interior de Californias, y por el Mar del Sur treinta Misioneros Apostolicos con abundantes repuestos de Provisiones, Ropas, Utiles, y Ornamentos, á fin de sostener los nuevos Presidios de San Diego, y Monterrey con sus respectivas Misiones, y erigir otras en los fertiles Países, que transitó la Expedicion de Tierra desde Velicatá hasta el Puerto de San Francisco, situado á los treinta y siete grados, quarenta y cinco minutos de Latitud.

extremely gentle and tractable. They never came to visit the Spaniards without bringing them a substantial present of game, which as a rule consisted of two or three deer or antelopes, which they offered without demanding or [even] asking for anything [in return]. Their good disposition has given the missionary fathers well-founded hopes of speedily winning them over to the faith of Christ.

Fish abound on this part of the coast no less than in the channel of Santa Bárbara and the Port of San Diego. Whales and seals are numberless, and, in time, whaling will perhaps be carried on in the bay itself.

In compliance with the order, a military post and a mission under the protection of San Carlos were established in that country. Everybody—soldiers, sailors, and their respective officers—coöperated with equal effort and devotion in the humble beginnings of so important a settlement. Having finished the provisional work which was most necessary for the missionary fathers and the garrison, and having planned the other work which was to follow, the cargo of the packet was stored away. The commander, Don Gaspar de Portolá, then determined to embark in the packet with the engineer, Don Miguel Costansó, leaving in command the lieutenant of infantry, Don Pedro Fages, according to his instructions; and, in order to assist the soldiers in their tasks, nine sailors remained in Monterey as a reenforcement.

On the 9th of July of this year, the *San Antonio* set sail from the Port [of Monterey], and safely arrived at San Blas on the 1st of August. When the other packet, the *San Carlos*, reached the same port coming from San Diego, both vessels were made ready to undertake another voyage in the coming month of November, to convey separately, by way of the interior Gulf of California and by way of the South Sea, thirty missionaries, together with abundant stores of provisions, clothing, tools, and sacred vestments, both to maintain the new Presidios of San Diego and Monterey with their respective missions, and to establish others in the fertile regions traversed by the land-expedition on its way from Velicatá to the Port of San Francisco, situated in latitude 37° 45'.

[56] Así han tenido sus felices principios los deseados Establecimientos de San Diego, y Monterrey, y así debemos también prometernos que se verificarán los de las nuevas Misiones que van á fundarse, y crecer bajo la proteccion, y auspicios del Excmó. Sr. Marqués de Croix, Virrey, Gobernador, y Capitan General de este dilatado Imperio, á cuyo suave Mando aplauden los Subditos, y viven agradecidos los Pueblos. Pero esta Empresa deseada por tantos años, y promovida muchas veces con grandes preparativos, y gastos, será sin duda muy grata al Monarca Augusto que cifre la Corona de España, cuyo magnanimo Corazon, y religiosa Piedad premia el Cielo con subsitar^{ss} en su glorioso Reynado Hombres Ilustres, y Grandes en todos Estados, Eclesiastico, Militar, y Politico que compiten igualmente en desempeñar los altos Cargos que fia á su eminente capacidad, y talentos, nunca mejor empleados que en procurar la Propagacion del Evangelio, y la felicidad publica de sus Leales, y Amantes Vasallos.

Mexico, y Octubre 24, de 1770.

D. MIGUEL COSTANSÓ.

^{ss} MS. reads *suscitar*

Thus the desired settlements of San Diego and Monterey have had their successful beginnings, and so we may promise ourselves the same success for those of the new missions which are to be founded, and that they will grow under the protection and patronage of his Excellency the Marquis de Croix, viceroy, governor, and captain-general of this vast empire, under whose mild rule, which is extolled by the people, the inhabitants live gratefully. But this enterprise, desired for so many years and attempted many times with great preparations and costs, will doubtless be very acceptable to the august monarch who wears the crown of Spain. His generous heart Heaven rewards by arousing in his glorious reign great and illustrious men of all estates—ecclesiastical, military, and political—who vie with one another and are equally zealous in the discharge of the high responsibilities confided to their eminent capabilities and talents, which are never employed more worthily than in furthering the extension of the gospel and the public welfare of his loyal and devoted subjects.

MEXICO, October 24, 1770.

D. MIGUEL COSTANSÓ.

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Fig. 1. The front cover of the book "The History of the County of Down" by James Johnston, 1845.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE
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VOL. 1

NO. 5

THE UNITED STATES CONSULATE
IN CALIFORNIA

By

RAYNER WICKERSHAM KELSEY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

JUNE, 1910

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of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
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*Berkeley, California,
May 10, 1909.*

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THE UNITED STATES CONSULATE IN CALIFORNIA.

CHAPTER I.

Historical and Biographical Background.

The first and only United States consul who served in California was Thomas Oliver Larkin.¹

Larkin was a native of Massachusetts, who came to California as a young man in 1832. He settled at Monterey and soon built up an extensive business as a local merchant and a trader with other ports.²

He served as United States consul in California from 1844 to 1848; as confidential agent of the government from 1846 to 1848; as navy agent from 1847 to 1849; and as naval store keeper from 1847 to 1848. Thus for a time during 1847 and 1848, he was serving technically, though not always actually, in four different official capacities under the United States government.³

As to Larkin's traits of character, some definite impressions have come from a fairly detailed study of his voluminous correspondence. In business relations he showed shrewdness to such an extent that he was sometimes accused of dishonesty. His temper was generally even, unless someone trenched upon his

¹ Other appointees, as follows, resigned or failed to take office: Austin J. Raines, appointed consul at Monterey, Oct. 17, 1833; Jonathan P. Gilliam, appointed consul at Monterey, Dec. 13, 1837; Thomas Carlile, appointed consul at San Francisco, March 10, 1842; Albert M. Gilliam, appointed consul at San Francisco, July 26, 1843.—Information from State Department, October 14, 1908.

For notes concerning consular representatives of France, Great Britain, and Spain, see Appendix 2.

² For a more detailed biographical sketch of Larkin, with list of authorities, see Appendix 1.

³ Larkin was appointed navy agent by Stockton in 1846, but did not receive the confirmation from the Navy Department until 1847. See certificate of appointment, Stockton to Larkin, Aug. 13, 1846; letter, Larkin to Mason, May 4, 1847. The appointment as naval store keeper was only temporary; Larkin to Mason, Sept. 17, 1847; Mason to Larkin, March 27, 1848.

pecuniary interests or personal pride, when he would assert and defend his interests with as much warmth as ability. Although he learned the lesson of strict economy early in life and was sometimes accused of being penurious, his generosity seems to have grown with his fortune. In later life he denied himself and his family no comfort and was especially free in the outlay of money for the benefit and pleasure of his children.

Though he had only a moderate education, yet he was quick to learn both little things and big. In his official correspondence can be traced plainly a rapid acquisition of the elements of diplomatic usage and a fast growing ability to handle delicate situations with skill and abundant common sense.

By the time of the conquest, Larkin had acquired a goodly fortune in his mercantile business and had acquired large landed interests in California. He and his family spent the years from 1850 to 1853 in the east. They visited relatives and friends in New York and Massachusetts and he acquired some valuable property in New York city. In 1853 they removed to San Francisco, where Larkin died in 1858 at the age of fifty-six years.

To understand the conditions under which Larkin labored as consul, we must remember something of the trend of affairs in the United States and Mexico in the years following 1840, and also bear in mind the general status of California, socially and politically.

The battle raging in the United States between Whigs and Democrats over government finances received meager attention on the Pacific Coast. The questions that set tingling American blood in California were those of Texas annexation and the Oregon boundary. From the time of Commodore Jones's abortive attempt upon California in 1842, rumors of war with Mexico over the Texas question came regularly to the ears of the American settlers in California. Later, in 1845 and 1846, there was much speculation about a possible war with England over the Oregon boundary.⁴

⁴ For this and the following on general conditions in California see especially letters in the Larkin correspondence to and from John C. Jones, of Santa Barbara, Wm. A. Leidesdorff, of San Francisco, Stephen Reynolds, of Oahu, and Abel Stearns, of Los Angeles.

These rumors seemed to possess greater import and, consequently, greater interest by the time they reached California. Authentic news traveled so slowly that when it was finally received, people naturally drew upon their imaginations for what had happened during the two or three months that passed while the letter or newspaper had been coming by packet from New York or New Orleans to Vera Cruz, thence across Mexico to Mazatlan, and from there up the coast to California.⁵

Almost all of the foreign settlers expected a change sooner or later in the government of California. Mexico was apparently too weak, too poor, too busied with the Texas question and factional politics at home, to maintain a stable government in the northern department. So the old round of revolutions in California continued and men with permanent interests often longed for a change.⁶

But what would the change be? Would California become an independent state, or a dependent protectorate under England or France, or would she add another star to the American constellation? Such were the questions discussed at Sutter's Fort when a new company of emigrants arrived from "the Oregon" or "the States"; at Yerba Buena⁷ when some new comers would drop down the Sacramento River; or at Monterey when an American trading vessel arrived after a voyage of three or four weeks from Mazatlan or Oahu.⁸ Such, in brief, were the conditions and such were the questions in the air when Larkin became consul.

At that time the United States consular service was on a somewhat uncertain basis, both as to law and usage. The usage, in many details, had never been definitely established; the law was so unsatisfactory that its amendment had long been urged.

⁵ Childs to Larkin, March 29, 1844. Larkin's letter came through in sixty-five days, "the shortest trip yet."

⁶ Larkin to Micheltorena, March 22, 1845. Larkin to Calhoun, Jan. 25, 1845.

⁷ *California Star*, S. F., Jan. 30, 1847, p. 4. Ordinance changing name.

⁸ Larkin to Buchanan, April 17, 1846. U. S. S. *Cyane* has just arrived at Monterey "twenty-eight days from Oahu (a long passage)." Larkin to Gillespie, April 23, 1846: U. S. S. *Portsmouth* was "twenty-one days from Mazatlan to Monterey."

A fundamental change in the whole system was destined to come in 1856.⁹

With few exceptions the consuls received no salary, and their direct remuneration came solely from fees and commissions. To these resources was added a fair prospect of some indirect gain in the way of business advantage and social prestige.

The law establishing the United States consular service was passed by Congress in 1792. According to this law, and various amendments, including those of 1803, 1818, and 1840, the chief duties of a consul, during Larkin's term of office, were as follows: To protect the general interests and rights of United States citizens within the consular jurisdiction; to take charge of the estates of citizens dying abroad without legal representatives; to succor destitute seamen and provide for their return home; to care for stranded vessels; to authenticate various papers, such as protests, depositions, etc., and especially invoices of goods to be imported into the United States.

The use of United States consuls for the compilation of commercial reports to aid in the extension of commerce was not appreciably developed until about 1853 and thereafter.

Having thus considered briefly the history and personality of the man, the political and social conditions of the time, and the status of the consular service, we may come at once to the story of this first and only United States consulate in California.

⁹ Jones, C. L. *The Consular Service of the United States*. Philadelphia, 1906. This excellent monograph has been taken as authority for subsequent statements about the general status of the consular service. The appendix to Chapter 1 gives a list of laws relating to the consular service.

CHAPTER II.

Chronological Sketch of the Consulate.

It will be well to outline briefly the history of Larkin's consulate and confidential agency in order that we may grasp the chronological sequence and the general relation of the chief events. His more important official activities will be considered topically in subsequent chapters.¹

Larkin's appointment as consul was apparently secured through influence brought to bear at Washington by relatives and friends.²

The original appointment is dated at Washington, May 1, 1843, and Larkin is appointed consul "for the Port of Monterey, in California, and such other parts as shall be nearer thereto than to the residence of any other Consul or Vice-Consul of the United States within the same allegiance." As the appointment was made during the recess of Congress, it is declared that Larkin shall hold the office "until the end of the next session of the Senate of the United States, and no longer."³

¹ Detailed references to authorities will be omitted in this chapter for topics treated at length in subsequent chapters.

² Childs to Larkin, Aug. 12 and Dec. 26, 1843. Childs was a step-brother to Larkin.

³ This recess appointment is signed by John Tyler, President, and Daniel Webster, Secretary of State. The national seal of the United States is on the face of the document and that of Mexico on the reverse side. On the latter side also, dated at Mexico, Dec. 2, 1843, appears the official "cumplase," endorsed by Valentín Canalizo, Acting President, and José M. Bocanegra, Minister of Foreign Affairs, of the Mexican Republic. These officials also issued under the same date a formal exequatur, signed and sealed, which accompanied the appointment when it was forward to California. Savage, *Documentos*, MSS., vol. 2; transcript in *State Papers, Sacramento*, MS., 19:9.

The process of official recognition is well indicated by the following extract from Larkin's letter of April 16, 1844, to Gen. Waddy Thompson, United States Minister, City of Mexico: "I have the honor to inform you that I have received from Washington through your office my Commission as Consul for this Port, also the corresponding 'Exequatur' from Mexico. I have presented the same to General Manuel Micheltorena

Larkin entered formally upon the duties of his new office April 2, 1844. He was hampered in his work at first by a lack of detailed instructions and of the necessary supplies for use in his office. For a time he obtained information as to his duties from United States consular officials in neighboring ports, but he was finally equipped, within the course of about one year, with most of the instructions and supplies necessary for his work.⁴ He ordered from New York a consular uniform, a sword, and some rather pretentious house furnishings.⁵

Larkin's terms of actual service as consul and confidential agent may be outlined as follows:

Comandante and Govonour of California and now am acting in the duties of my office."

Micheltorena to Larkin, April 9, 1844. Has been notified by the Mexican government of Larkin's appointment and of the exequatur. He therefore tenders his official acknowledgment and has notified the departmental officials of California to that effect. Larkin MSS., also *Departmental Records*, 13:74-75.

Larkin's permanent commission, "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," is dated at Washington, Jan. 29, 1844, and is signed by John Tyler, President, and A. P. Upshur, Secretary of State. The question at once arose in Larkin's mind as to whether a second exequatur must be issued by Mexico for his new commission, but he was informed by the State Department in a despatch dated Oct. 25, 1844, that such was not the case.

Larkin's consular bond for \$2000 was approved Dec. 20, 1844, by John C. Calhoun.

Copy of Larkin's printed announcement sent to M. G. Vallejo. Vallejo, *Documentos*, MSS., 12: 22.

⁴ *Monterey Consulate Accounts*, vol. 1, fly-leaf. The letter from Governor Micheltorena, addressing Larkin as United States consul, cited in Bancroft, *Hist. of Cal.*, 4:385, note 7, is incorrectly dated Aug. 13, 1843. It should be 1844. See p. 24, note 21, below.

Larkin to Calhoun, April 10, 11, 1844. Requests instructions, seal, stamp, press, flag, coat of arms, etc. Larkin to Calhoun, May 31, 1845. Blank books, flag, seal, and coat of arms received. [Calhoun retired from the Secretaryship of State, March 10, 1845, and was succeeded by Buchanan. Larkin continued to address his letters to the department, as shown in the *Official Correspondence*, to Calhoun until June 5th. After that date a space is left in the transcripts for the secretary's name, viz., "Hon^{ble} . . . Secretary of State." He first addressed Buchanan by name in a letter dated Sept. 29, 1845.] Buchanan to Larkin, July 14, 1846. The press, by oversight, was not sent before, but will now be forwarded.

Larkin to Hooper, Nov. 4, 1844. Parrott to Larkin, May 22, 1844. Calhoun to Larkin, June 24, 1844 (received May 2, 1845). Larkin may open consular communications sent to all previous appointees in California. See p. 7, note 1.

⁵ Larkin to Robinson, April 30, 1844. Robinson to Larkin, June 30, 1844. Larkin to Robinson, May 6, 1845: The uniform, furniture, etc., arrived "this week."

1. As consul, April 2, 1844, to June, 1846.

Thereafter he was engaged in no regular consular activities, and his correspondence and that of the State Department show some uncertainty and confusion as to whether his consulate ended with the military occupation of California by the United States.⁶ However, the Secretary of State did not formally terminate his consulate until May 30, 1848, the date of the final ratification, by Mexico, of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

2. As confidential agent, April 17, 1846, to May 30, 1848:

(a) Campaign of conciliation, April 17, 1846, to about June 14, 1846.

(b) Attention to the Bear Flag problem and preparations for the coming of Commodore Sloat, about June 14, 1846, to July 2, 1846.

(c) Activities in connection with the military occupation, July 2, 1846, to January 9, 1847.

(d) Occasional reports to the State Department on conditions in California until November 16, 1848. On this day Larkin acknowledged the receipt of the despatch stating that his consulate and confidential agency terminated May 30, 1848.⁷

The period of chief historical interest in which Larkin figured conspicuously extends from April 2, 1844, to January 9, 1847. Taking this period up chronologically it may be well to outline his activities.

From the time he entered formally upon his duties, on April 2, 1844, until the close of 1845, he was busied with the regular

⁶ Larkin to Beach, July 29, 1846: "I visited Admiral Seymour on board his ship (74 gun) on the 21st. inst. On leaving he partly acknowledged our flag ashore by saying to me not now being in office—he could not give me my consular salute as usual." In Larkin's copy book of official correspondence the letter heading, "Consulate of the U. S. of America," is used irregularly beginning with Nov. 16, 1846. See also his despatch to the State Department dated Aug. 27, 1846: "Our conquest of this Country being completed my official capacity as U. S. Consul having expired . . ." He hopes, however, to be continued for a time in his confidential agency. Buchanan to Larkin, Jan. 13, 1847. Addresses Larkin as "late U. S. Consul."

⁷ Larkin's correspondence with the State Department takes on no new heading after his appointment as confidential agent. It was indicated in the secret despatch that he should assume no other than his consular capacity.

routine duties of his office. He succored sick and destitute American seamen and had a care for the local maritime interests of the United States; he aided his countrymen in securing justice from local courts; issued passports; and looked after the general rights and privileges of American citizens residing or traveling in California. These activities he reported to the Secretary of State at Washington, including in his reports numerous details about the social, political, and commercial conditions and prospects of California.

In October, 1845, he appointed as vice-consul for the port of San Francisco, William Alexander Leidesdorff, who served actively until the beginning of the conquest in the middle of 1846, and occasionally thereafter.

At the beginning of 1846, Larkin entered into a contract by which the active management of his mercantile business in Monterey was transferred to Talbot H. Green. This left Larkin free to devote more of his time to his official activities.⁸

The return of Frémont to California in December, 1845, soon provided new duties for Larkin. In the latter part of January, Frémont visited Monterey, and in March came the affair at Hawk's Peak. The task of supplying the surveying party with money and provisions, coupled with the work of middleman in the unfortunate breach of relations between Frémont and the Californian authorities, made grave the responsibility of Larkin's position.

On April 17th of the same year, arrived Archibald H. Gillespie on the U. S. S. *Cyane* from Oahu, with a copy of Buchanan's despatch of October 17, 1845, appointing Larkin a confidential agent of the government. The task now definitely assigned to the consul was that of so influencing affairs that ultimately, and if possible peaceably, California should become a part of the United States.

Larkin proceeded to set in motion a vigorous campaign for the prosecution of his new and weighty task, but his work was interrupted in the middle of June by the seizure of the horses from Lieutenant Francisco Arce, and the following Bear Flag insurrection.

⁸ Contract, Larkin and Green, Jan. 1, 1846.

The Californians immediately concluded that Frémont was implicated in the movement and even intimated that the consul at Monterey had knowledge of the affair. This of course put an abrupt end to Larkin's plan of "friendly influence."

On July 2, 1846, Commodore John D. Sloat arrived in Monterey harbor, and on the 7th, he hoisted the United States flag on shore.⁹

During the conquest Larkin gave his active coöperation to the military authorities. This period of his activities may be said to end with his release from military captivity by General Flores on January 9, 1847.

During the first half of 1846, before the conquest, as the political situation became more complicated, Larkin gave less time and attention to his regular consular functions. Especially was this the case after receiving his commission as confidential agent. Aid to United States citizens was extended less frequently. The record of help given by Larkin to destitute American seamen ends with June, 1846.

From this time on, practically the only official activity of Larkin, under appointment from the State Department, was the making of his continued reports to that department on the political and economic state of the country.¹⁰ Sometimes these reports were very full and contained many interesting details, especially after the discovery of gold in 1848. Some of these reports telling about the gold discovery were printed and reprinted in the eastern states.

The question as to whether Larkin was consul during this period was raised in 1848 when William Alexander Leidesdorff, of San Francisco, formerly United States vice-consul by Larkin's appointment, died on May 18th, intestate.

Colonel Richard B. Mason felt that Larkin should settle the estate since he had neither resigned nor been deprived of his consular commission. Larkin agreed to undertake the task and went to San Francisco for that purpose. Upon his arrival, however, he found that Leidesdorff had become a naturalized Mex-

⁹ See p. 77, note 2.

¹⁰ With his duties under appointment from the Navy Department this work is not concerned.

ican citizen in 1844, and so the estate was turned over for settlement to the civil authorities.¹¹

The formal discontinuance of the consulate and confidential agency was announced to Larkin in a despatch of June 23, 1848, from James Buchanan, Secretary of State. The following is an extract from the despatch: "I have now, the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty of Peace between the United States and Mexico having taken place on the 30th Ultimo, to announce to you the termination, at that date, of your Special Agency and of your consular functions. In doing this it gives me pleasure to reiterate the expressions of approbation of your services contained in my former letters."

¹¹ Mason to Larkin, May 20, 1848. Larkin to Mason, May 22, 1848. Larkin to Howard, May 29, 1848. Larkin to Mason, May 29, 1848. Larkin to Buchanan, June 1, 1848. Larkin to Green, June 3, 1848.

CHAPTER III.

Aid to United States Maritime Interests.

At the time of Larkin's consulate the chief duty of a United States consul was to protect those engaged in American commerce.

The most continuous single activity of Larkin along this line was his aid to sick and destitute American seamen. During his term of office, he gave aid to eighteen such seamen. The aid given consisted of one or more of the following items: Board and lodging, medical attendance, clothing, and help in securing passage back to the United States.¹

The various seamen aided were under Larkin's consular care from a part of one month to an entire year, but the average time was about three months. The expense varied from about fifteen dollars in some instances to over two hundred and fifty dollars in one case. The average expense was about one hundred dollars per man.

Of the eighteen seamen aided by Larkin, ten were from whaling-vessels, seven from trading-ships, and one is unrecorded. Three were shipped again on whaling-vessels bound for the United States, two on trading-ships and one on a United States war-ship. One seaman died while under consular care and several were discharged when they were able to care for themselves.

In the cases of six, it is recorded that when they were left ashore the extra three months' wages were paid into the consul's hands, as provided by the Law of 1803. According to this law also, Larkin turned over two-thirds of the above advance to the seamen, when they were discharged from consular care. In one case, he paid this amount when he should not have done so, because the seaman in question had been supported so long by the consulate as to more than use up that part of the extra wages otherwise due him.²

¹ *Monterey Consulate Accounts*, 2 vols.

² *Circular to Consuls*, Sept. 20, 1844. Larkin to Pleasanton, June 1, 1847.

In at least one case, a seaman, having had trouble with his captain, was discharged by the mutual consent of himself and the captain. Larkin took a signed statement to this effect,³ and presumably the three months' extra wages were remitted in this case according to the Law of 1840.

In several cases, Larkin aided seamen, discharged from their ships with the consent of the captain of the port, before the United States consulate was established.

The following is a typical entry in Larkin's *Consulate Account Book*:⁴ "William Cook. New York. Was left ashore in Monterey September 11, 1843, by Captain William J. Rogers, Master of American whale ship *John Jay* of Sag Harbor [and] by joint consent and permission of the Captain of the Port—said Cook being unable to perform the voyage by reason of sickness. From that date to October 1, 1844, has been on different farms in the country. This day places himself in the charge of this Consulate, as unable to maintain himself. On the 12th of October, 1844, a passage to the U. States was ask'd for on board the American Ship *Barnstable* of Boston, Capt. James B. Hatch, for this seaman, and ten dollars, as allowed by Law, tendered to the Captain. The passage was refused because the vessel was to remain on this coast three months before she sailed for Boston." Following this are items of expense for board and clothing from October 1, 1844, to November 23, 1844, amounting to \$138.00.⁵ Below this is the following: "William Cook was put on board the American whaling bark *Monmouth* of New York, Hiram B. Hedges, Master, November 23, 1844, and fitted out for the voyage to the United States." (Signed) William Cook, Thomas O. Larkin.

The above entry contains items illustrative of several points about which Larkin had some trouble during his consulate.

³ Narvaez to Larkin, Aug. 12, 1844. Statement of mutual consent in the discharge of Henry Daly, signed by Captain Thomas A. Norton and Larkin, Aug. 12, 1844.

⁴ *Monterey Consulate Accounts*, 1:5.

⁵ Larkin's column here should foot up \$148.00 but he makes a mistake in addition. His reports to the department often contained little errors which had to be adjusted. At one time he sent drafts on the Secretary of State, amounting to \$3,280,000, and neglected to attach his signature to them. Rogers to Larkin, June 29, 1848.

According to the Law of 1792, masters were compelled to carry destitute seamen to the United States free of charge, provided also that the seamen should work during passage. By the Law of 1803, consuls were authorized to pay to the masters of vessels \$10 per seaman thus carried and the seaman was to work in addition.

As may be seen by the above entry, masters of trading-vessels in California refused to transport destitute seamen from Monterey because these vessels generally spent from two to three months after leaving Monterey in trading down the coast and loading hides at the San Diego hide houses before they sailed for the United States.

Larkin referred this matter to the State Department and received in reply a copy of the opinion of Attorney-General John Nelson to the effect that the Law of 1803 made it obligatory for masters to carry destitute seamen only when their ships were bound direct to some port of the United States.⁶

This decision made it impossible to ship such seamen direct from Monterey on trading-vessels. In some instances he secured passage for a destitute seaman to Oahu or San Diego, there to take passage on a trading-vessel bound direct for the United States. Of course it was sometimes possible to secure passage from Monterey on whaling-vessels bound direct to a home port, and this was the method generally employed by Larkin.⁷

Larkin also had trouble as to his expenses in aiding the maritime interests when his accounts were rendered to the State Department. These accounts were handled in the fifth auditor's office of the Treasury Department.

It must be remembered that at first Larkin was hampered by a lack of definite instructions and so his report at the close of 1844 was quite unsatisfactory to the Treasury Department. Items were rejected because of a lack of proper vouchers, and of receipts from seamen for clothing furnished them; also for excessive charges for board and clothing and excessive amounts

⁶ John Nelson, opinion, July 10, 1843.

⁷ *Monterey Consulate Accounts*, vol. 1, *passim*. But sometimes whaling-vessels too refused to carry destitute seamen, because they were going to fish for some time along the coast or intended to call at some port of South America. Larkin to Calhoun, Dec. 9, 1844.

of clothing furnished; for aid furnished to Sandwich Islanders who were taken from an American whaling-vessel and aided as destitute seamen. In the first statement rendered by Larkin, his account was cut down from \$724.22 to \$160.62. It was explained to him what vouchers and receipts must be forwarded to the department, and he was given permission to forward additional receipts to cover some of the rejected accounts. He was also informed that no aid could be given to destitute seamen, even from American vessels, unless they were citizens of the United States. Moreover, only the commonest material worn by sailors and a minimum amount of it was to be supplied.⁸

Larkin's replies to the department and to the auditor's office with reference to his rejected accounts were vigorous and obviously satisfactory in some points, especially as to the high prices which obtained in California. Many of his rejected accounts were credited to him later, after he had furnished satisfactory vouchers.⁹

Larkin's consular relations with ship's officers, aside from those relating to destitute mariners, consisted chiefly in receiving and returning ship's papers. In this regard, he wrote to the State Department asking whether a ship spending several months on the coast should deposit its papers and pay the fee therefor each time it visited Monterey. In reply, he received a copy of the opinion of Attorney-General John Y. Mason to the effect that, according to the Law of 1803, masters were required to deposit their papers only when entering their cargo at a custom-house. Of course this meant one deposit only and one fee for Larkin during the entire stay of a vessel on the coast.¹⁰

We find Larkin exercising a few other functions with relation to ship's officers which may be briefly described as follows: Requesting a captain to deliver to discharged seamen some clothing on shipboard belonging to them; securing from unruly cap-

⁸ Larkin's consular returns, Dec. 31, 1844. *Circular to Consuls*, with endorsement, Sept. 20, 1844. Pleasanton to Larkin, June 12, 1845.

⁹ Larkin to Pleasanton, June 1, 1847. Vouchers, March 24, 1846, and June 1, 1847, *passim*. Buchanan to Larkin, June 23, 1848. Treasury Department transcripts, Nov. 10, 1908.

¹⁰ Receipt for papers of American ship *Admittance*, Aug. 8, 1844, signed by Larkin; endorsed: "delivered the Register Aug. 13, 1844." John Y. Mason, opinion, June 11, 1845.

tains the pay and discharge of seamen according to law or previous agreement; advising an officer on shipboard as to his rights and duties when under punishment from the captain; aiding ship's officers in securing the return of deserting or otherwise insubordinate seamen on shore.¹¹

He decided matters properly belonging to a consular court, and reported to Governor Micheltorena his findings in the cases of several American seamen whom he tried on charges of stealing while on shipboard.¹²

He also at one time took evidence in the case of a seaman who had threatened a ship's officer and had apparently laid plans to kill him. No record of the final action in this case has been found.¹³

In the consular correspondence is found reference to three wrecks, all near Santa Barbara. Two of them, the *Fama* and *Elizabeth*, were American vessels, and the *Star of the West* was an English ship with a cargo belonging to an American. In the two former cases, Larkin informed the captains of the wrecked vessels that they must act as agents for the owners in selling that part of the cargo which was saved from the wreck. In the case of the *Star of the West*, Larkin himself asked for bids on the damaged goods. In this case also, Larkin took care of the stranded English seamen for a time until their needs could be brought to the notice of the English vice-consul at San Francisco.¹⁴

It also happened early in Larkin's term of office that he aided in sending help to a vessel reported to be on the rocks near Monterey, but the supposed wreck proved to be only a whaling-vessel working near shore. Upon relating this matter to the State Department, Larkin was instructed to report the expenses incurred by him in the affair, but in reply he waived the claim,

¹¹ Larkin to Everett, April 24, 1844. Larkin to Paty, Oct. 31, 1844. Larkin to Smith, Oct. 24, 1845. Two letters, Larkin to Dunn, Jan. 22, 1846. Larkin to Richardson, Sept. 17, 1844. Park to Larkin, March 14, 1845. Vincent to Larkin, April 27, 1846.

¹² Micheltorena to Larkin, May 21, 1844. Larkin to Micheltorena, June, 1844.

¹³ Several depositions, Oct. 25, 1845.

¹⁴ Larkin's general and consular correspondence, July 31 to Aug. 24, 1845; same, March 6 to 20, 1846; same, Feb. 19 to 29, 1848.

stating that he had taken no vouchers to cover his expense in the matter.¹⁵

In this connection may be mentioned also the recovery by Larkin of a stolen ship's boat and the sale of it in the interest of the owners.¹⁶

No evidence has been found to show that Larkin ever certified invoices of goods to be shipped to the United States. Indeed, he informed the State Department that "most the entire exports [hides] are shipt from San Diego, the most southern port of this Department." The consul was five hundred miles northward at Monterey. Moreover, the requirement for certification of invoices by United States consuls was not strictly enforced at that time. These two things probably account for the fact that Larkin seems never to have certified invoices.¹⁷

Larkin was always vigilant to see that all rights and privileges of Americans in California were safeguarded and we find here and there traces of his activities in securing and maintaining favorable regulations for American commerce on the coast.

It must be remembered in this connection that the government in California never paid much attention to the laws of the Mexican government. It was not uncommon for a governor of California to issue a decree completely annulling or reversing a law of Mexico. Such a decree would be issued, perhaps by virtue of the governor's "extraordinary powers," as a temporary measure, and would have appended to it the saving clause, "Pending its ratification by the Supreme Government." The decree might thus "pend" long enough to accomplish an immediate object and would probably last until another revolution put the decree-making power into other hands.

A striking instance in which the United States consul figured as a chief factor in the protection of American trade privileges happened in 1844. It had long been the custom in California, although it was contrary to Mexican law, to allow certain trading

¹⁵ Larkin to Calhoun, Sept. 16, 1844; reply, Dec. 28, 1844. Larkin to [Buchanan], July 10, 1845.

¹⁶ Larkin to "The Owners of the Ship, *Caroline*, New Bedford," Aug. 10, 1844.

¹⁷ Larkin to Calhoun, Jan. 1, 1845. Jones, *Consular Service of the United States*, pp. 8, 22-25.

privileges to whaling-vessels on the coast. Consequently, these vessels, of whatever nationality, brought with them a liberal supply of merchandise for trade, and, after a time of fishing off the coast, they would drop into a port of California, make necessary repairs, and get a supply of provisions, paying for the same by selling or trading their merchandise. The charge for anchorage fees, tonnage dues, or customs duties for such trade had varied in different years, but it had generally been low and sometimes so low as to give the whalers a decided advantage over the regular trade by merchant vessels. On one occasion, an American merchant in San Francisco had complained to Larkin in a private letter that this trade by whalers "played the deuce" with regular trade.¹⁸

On January 1, 1844, Governor Manuel Micheltorena issued a decree forbidding, after six months of notice, all further trade by whaling-vessels. In August, the American whaling-vessel *Charles W. Morgan* anchored in the harbor of Monterey, and the captain addressed a letter to Larkin protesting against the withdrawal of trading privileges. After a cruise of thirty-four months, he had touched at Monterey to refit his ship and secure fresh provisions for his crew, some of whom were afflicted with the scurvy. Unless the customary privilege was granted he could not refit his ship, and would be compelled to throw overboard some of the goods that were weighing down his ship.¹⁹

Larkin at once sent a copy of the captain's letter to Governor Micheltorena and enclosed with it one from himself protesting against the withdrawal of the trading privilege from whaling-vessels, without longer notice than had been given. He suggested a notice of one year.²⁰

In a very courteous and convincing reply, Micheltorena explained that the reason for his decree was that the trade by whaling-vessels injured the trade by the regular merchant vessels from Boston, upon the customs revenue from which the government of California depended for its support. Moreover, he

¹⁸ Larkin to "Minister of Legation of the U. S. A., City of Mexico," Aug. 15, 1844. Spear to Larkin, Dec. 7, 1841.

¹⁹ Norton to Larkin, Aug. 12, 1844.

²⁰ Larkin to Micheltorena, Aug. 12, 1844.

added that the whalers had been accustomed to abuse their privileges by carrying on illicit trade. He felt that a notice of six months was sufficient, and he offered to aid the scurvy-afflicted sailors in every manner possible if they were put on shore by their captain.²¹

Larkin was dissatisfied with his ill success at this time, and soon brought the matter to the attention of the United States Minister in Mexico, urging him to bring it before the Mexican government. The case was also brought by Larkin to the attention of the State Department at Washington. In all of his correspondence, Larkin admits that the granting of this trading privilege to whalers is contrary to Mexican law but urges the long continued practice in California and the general exigencies of the case as cause for protest against the sudden withdrawal of the privilege. He also urged continually the benefit accruing to the inhabitants of California who profited greatly by selling their produce to the whaling-vessels.²²

Larkin's effort bore fruit.²³ In October, 1844, Governor Micheltorena revoked his former order and granted again to whalers the privileges of trade. Thereafter, whaling-vessels were to be allowed to sell goods, the corresponding duties on which should not exceed four hundred dollars; there was to be an additional fee of thirty dollars paid in lieu of tonnage duties. The reasons alleged for the new order were that it would aid the agricultural interests of California and would not injure the regular trading-vessels which exchanged their merchandise for

²¹ Micheltorena to Larkin, Aug. 13, 1844. See Bancroft, *Hist. of Cal.*, vol. 4: p. 376, notes 15, 16, p. 385, note 7, and p. 429. The above letter, cited several times by Bancroft, is plainly dated Aug. 13, 1843, in the original, but the transcriber evidently carried the figure 3 of the month date forward in his mind and thus made a mistake in the year. All the other correspondence regarding the same incident is dated 1844, and Larkin dated the letter 1844 on the reverse side for filing. This is an important letter and failure to note the incorrect date has led Bancroft astray in several places.

²² Larkin to "Minister of Legation of the U. S. A., City of Mexico," Aug. 15, 1844. Larkin to Calhoun, Aug. 18, 1844. The matter was dealt with in President Tyler's message of Dec. 18, 1844. Calhoun to Larkin, Dec. 28, 1844.

²³ It is probable, however, that the desire for the revenue from the whaling-vessels was a potent factor in moving Micheltorena to the desired action.

hides and tallow. The new decree was to be in force pending its ratification by the supreme government.²⁴

It is needless to add that Larkin was very much gratified over the new decree which he indicates was secured only after considerable agitation on the part of himself and others.²⁵

Among other instructions, Larkin was furnished with a copy of the circular issued on May 2, 1838, by the State Department, and in this, as in the secret despatch of October 17, 1845, he was instructed to report on the commerce of California.

Therefore, we must note that one of his greatest services as consul was his activity in reporting to the State Department the commercial conditions in California. In these reports he told of various phases of trade, often in great detail. He discussed the tariff laws of the country, reported changes in the regulations, and reiterated constantly the fact that no attention was paid in California to the Mexican tariff laws; he described the methods of trade on the coast, from the entry of cargoes at the Monterey custom-house, through the various trips for retail trade up and down the coast, to the final loading of the hides at San Diego for the homeward voyage; he compiled statistics of the amount of trade, number and nationality of vessels, and the amount of customs duties paid per year.

Larkin's consular activities then, with reference to American maritime interests in California, omitting unimportant details, may be summarized as follows: Aiding sick and destitute mariners; receiving ship's papers; trying, in the consular court, seamen who had committed crime on shipboard; adjusting the relations between officers and seamen; aiding in the return of deserting or otherwise insubordinate seamen on shore; coöperating in the disposition of goods saved from wrecks; caring for American commercial interests in the matter of securing favor-

²⁴ Manuel Micheltorena, decree, Oct. 19(9), 1844. Copy inclosed in letter, Larkin to U. S. minister of legation, City of Mexico, Dec. 10, 1844. *Departmental State Papers*, Benicia Custom-House, MSS., 4:150-151. Pinto, *Documentos*, MSS., 2:91-92. Vallejo to Micheltorena, Nov. 18, 1844, in *Bear Flag Papers*, MSS., 4. The new decree remained substantially in force until changed by a different decree of Pio Pico, the succeeding governor. Pinto, *Documentos*, MSS., 2, 185.

²⁵ Larkin to "Minister of Legation of the U. S. of America, City of Mexico," Dec. 10, 1844. Larkin to [Buchanan], July 10, 1845.

able trade regulations; and reporting commercial conditions to the State Department.

Although the early seizure of California by the United States prevented a long continued activity in any one of the above lines, yet the instances cited serve to illustrate the consular practice of the time as it was worked out under the conditions which then obtained in California; and in the aggregate it may be said that Larkin's consular aid to the United States maritime interests in California was not inconsiderable.

CHAPTER IV.

Safeguarding the Civil Rights of Americans.

It is impossible to study the documents of the period covered by this monograph without being struck by the generous concessions often made to Americans and other foreigners by the officials of the California government. Of course there were times when a temporary show of rigor toward foreigners was necessary to satisfy the demands of the supreme government of Mexico. Again, some personal matter would make the way of the foreigners in the department less smooth. But, as a rule, law and custom might bend or give way entirely at almost any point by the official courtesy of the local government. Of course the motive of personal gain often entered into the granting of such concessions, but that does not alter the facts of the case. Perhaps various motives at different times combined to affect the result, but certain it is that these motives, fused with the natural politeness of the Spanish people, often brought about an extreme of courtesy in the attitude of the Californian officials toward foreign citizens and especially toward the official representatives of other governments.

This fact is amply illustrated in Larkin's dealings with the officials of California, especially in the matter of securing justice for citizens of the United States who were traveling or residing in the department. Larkin's official activities in this respect fall under two headings, that of his own judicial authority as consul, and that of his influence on the proceedings of the departmental courts.

His activities in trying seamen for crimes committed on shipboard have been discussed at length in the previous chapter.¹ Aside from this Larkin states, in a despatch to the State Department, that alcaldes from every part of California send cases involving Americans to him for confirmation, sometimes even ask-

¹ See p. 21.

ing him to decide the case. This, he adds, he was unable to do.² If Larkin's statement in this matter is strictly correct, he was offered powers of extraterritoriality. However, no confirmatory evidence has been found as to how these cases were brought to him. It is possible that Governor Micheltorena, or other departmental officials to whom cases were appealed, merely talked them over with him in an informal way, asking his advice.³ However, with the evidence at hand, it cannot be said that the United States consul in California ever exercised powers of extraterritoriality.

As to his influence in securing justice for Americans in local courts there is much evidence. His efforts in this regard may be indicated most clearly by describing a notable case in detail.

The case that seemed at the time most portentous was the Libbey-Spear affair.⁴

Elliott Libbey was captain of the American trading-bark, *Tasso*, and Nathan Spear was an American merchant of Yerba Buena. These two men were assaulted at Yerba Buena by a patrol of Mexicans and Captain Libbey was injured. The story of the affair as told by the Americans is fairly represented by the following, taken from Larkin's formal complaint to the local authorities of San Francisco: "On the night of the eleventh instant [October, 1845], in the village of Yerba Buena, Elliott Libbey, Captain of the American Bark *Tasso*, then at anchor in this port [San Francisco] and Nathan Spear, Merchant of said Village, both citizens of the Government which he [Larkin] represents, were attacked and in a most violent manner assaulted in the streets . . . said Spear was knocked down, and by a timely retreat, escaped with life, that said Libbey was beat and cut by knives or swords, receiving several dangerous stabs in his head, face, and body and left apparently dead on

² Larkin to [Buchanan], July 10, 1845.

³ Larkin and Micheltorena were on intimate terms in social, political, and business affairs.

⁴ Authorities used in the following account: Larkin, official and general correspondence, Oct. 12 to Nov. 4, 1845. Francisco Guerrero, correspondence, Oct. 12 to 27, 1845, in Castro, *Documentos*, MSS. Letter, Leidesdorff to Larkin, Jan. 3, 1846. Larkin to Pacheco, Feb. 1, 1846. Pacheco to Larkin, March 10, 1846. Castro to Larkin, April 24, 1846. Larkin to Castro, May 4, 1846. Castro, *Relacion*, 153-154.

the ground. Robert T. Ridley, second alcalde of the village, coming to the assistance of the wounded man, at the time ordered them to desist which order they disobeyed and from their threats said second alcalde and other persons present were forced to leave said Libbey for a time on the ground, afterwards carrying him to the house of Mr. Nathan Spear.'''⁵

The above version of the affair, as told by Larkin, is apparently in substantial agreement with the facts in the case, but the Californian officials laid more emphasis on the way in which the assault came about. Their version in this respect is that the night patrolmen were seeking for deserters from whaling-vessels. About 11 o'clock p.m., they came upon some seamen who proved later to be from the *Tasso*. These men refused to halt at the command of the patrol and two of them were seized. While they were being led to prison, Captain Libbey and Mr. Spear appeared and the former made an assault upon the patrol with the serious results above noted.⁶

Whatever details there may have been favorable to this side or that, the Americans about the bay saw only one side. The affair to them was a terrible outrage, a brutal affront to the Americans in California. Perhaps, too, it was the initial outbreak of a growing spirit of bitterness on the part of the Californians, which would soon manifest itself in an attack in which the few Americans in the vicinity would have to fight against heavy odds for their rights and their lives.

Depositions were at once made before the British vice-consul, James Alexander Forbes, and these were sent overland to Larkin at Monterey, together with urgent appeals begging him to secure speedy justice for the American cause. A petition was also sent to Commander Hugh N. Page, of the United States war-ship *Levant*, then lying at Monterey, urging him to sail at once for San Francisco in order to give protection to the American interests there.

Larkin and Commander Page needed no urging in the matter. They heard of the affair on the 15th, practically three days after it happened, and although the *Levant* was then preparing to

⁵ Larkin to Guerrero, Oct. 22, 1845.

⁶ Castro to Larkin, April 24, 1846.

leave the coasts of California for home, Commander Page agreed to carry Larkin to San Francisco. They apparently left Monterey on the 19th, and on the 22nd Larkin filed his formal complaint with the authorities at San Francisco. Before leaving for the north, however, he had made urgent demands for justice upon the higher departmental officials at Monterey. The result was that José Castro, commander-general of Alta California, and Manuel Castro, prefect of the second district, went overland with soldiers to San Francisco to have a part in settling the affair.

After arriving at San Francisco, Larkin seems to have dealt for a few days directly with Francisco Guerrero, subprefect of the second district. In arranging for the preliminary examination of the assailants of Captain Libbey, the local authorities seem to have borne gracefully with a somewhat autocratic attitude on the part of the United States consul. The only disagreement of importance was with regard to Larkin's demand for haste in taking the evidence and punishing the culprits. The reason for this desire for haste on the part of the Americans was that the war ship *Levant* could remain only a short time for the protection of American interests. Indeed the Americans on shore united with their consul in petitioning Commander Page to remain a few days longer in order to protect his countrymen from a possible outbreak on the part of the Californians. Thus Larkin demanded a hasty examination for the members of the patrol who had attacked the Americans.

Guerrero, the subprefect, on the other hand, wanted to delay the trial because of the fact that the local alcalde was a kinsman of those concerned in the assault, and it seemed difficult to get anyone else to act. The alcalde of San José refused to come up to take the case and Guerrero had little success in getting any competent person at San Francisco to take it by special appointment.

But Larkin would not listen to delay. The tone and content of his demands may be judged from the following extract from his letter of October 24th to the subprefect: "The undersigned notices your observations, that the case cannot be conducted at present, because the persons in authority at Yerba Buena are

relations to those who committed the crime. For himself and for Messrs. Spear and Libbey, he waives his excuse, and demands that you will this day commence the declarations at the room already used the present week for this purpose, in the Village of Yerba Buena, and command the attendance of such witnesses as you may deem necessary and the undersigned may bring forward, and continue the examination day by day until completed. The undersigned wishes to attend personally these examinations and will endeavor to have an impartial interpreter and secretary to aid in the proceedings."

The replies of the subprefect to Larkin's letters showed in all cases a courteous forbearance and practically all of the demands of the consul were granted. The examination of witnesses was hastened and Larkin was cordially invited to be present. Because of the consul's demand for haste, the alcalde of San Francisco, although related to the assailants, took up the case, but two "impartial associates" were appointed by Guerrero to aid him, in order that the examination might be fair to the Americans.

On October 24th, Larkin wrote to Commander Page: "The Sub Prefect and myself have come to the conclusion to commence on the 27th instant an open examination of witnesses, and I am confident that in time, some of the persons we complain of will be punished."

The investigation proceeded so satisfactorily that on the 30th, Larkin expressed the belief to Commander Page that the preliminary investigation could be brought to a close within three or four days.

It is evident that Prefect Manuel Castro arrived in San Francisco from Monterey before the end of the investigation and took charge of the matter personally. On November 4th, Larkin wrote to the State Department as follows: "The Prefect is now conducting the trials. I have every reason to believe, that those convicted of this high handed affair, will be banished from California, the authorities showing every disposition to have an impartial trial."

The crisis of the Libbey-Spear affair passed with the preliminary examination. The subsequent references are meager and

the general interest in the case seems to have died out. There were reasons for this. Captain Libbey, whose case for a few days seemed critical, rallied and recovered. The Californian authorities state that he was well in a few days. Larkin claims that he was confined to his room for a month. At all events he recovered, and his recovery relieved the most serious phase of the case. At the same time came the delay between the preliminary examination and the trial. This gave time for hot blood to cool, and also for the troubles between Frémont and the Californians to divert attention.

It is clear that the assailants of Captain Libbey were consigned to the San José prison to await trial, and that the procrastinating tendency of the local authorities let the case drag on for weeks and months without trial.

In February, 1846, Larkin wrote to the authorities at San José to the effect that he had heard that the prisoners were out on bail. This, he claimed, was contrary to Mexican law, since they were liable to corporal punishment. At this time Larkin met one of the sharpest rebuffs in his consular experience. The justice of the peace at San José replied in effect that he was not responsible to the United States consulate for the care of his prisoners.

Larkin then showed some renewed vigor in taking the case up with Prefect Manuel Castro. The reply was that since Captain Libbey's recovery the case against the prisoners was not so serious and therefore they might be admitted to bail pending trial. The prefect also claimed that Captain Libbey had formally withdrawn all personal claims in the affair and had expressed a desire that the case be settled only with a view to subserving the public interests. To this latter end the prefect would pursue the matter to a just conclusion but felt that Larkin's part in the affair was ended with the withdrawal of Libbey's personal claims.

In May, Larkin replied to the prefect, refusing to believe that Libbey had withdrawn his claims and insisting that the case be continued and the accused men punished.

Here ends the story of the Libbey-Spear affair. In about one month came the Bear Flag uprising, and within two months

Admiral Sloat sailed into Monterey Bay. These events were sufficient to draw away from pending trials the attention of the United States consul and the Californian authorities.

To sum up the affair from the view point of consular activities in California, it may be said that so long as the case seemed serious and Larkin gave to it his active personal attention, practically all of his demands were granted, and the affair was handled with apparent fairness and unwonted despatch by the Californian authorities. When delay and loss of interest in the case came, then the consul's renewed efforts were less efficacious, and the Libbey-Spear affair, with all other petty quarrels between Americans and Californians, faded into the more strenuous scenes of rebellion and conquest.

The further activities of Larkin in securing justice for Americans from the Californian government, though not many, were vigorous and seem to have brought results in most cases.

In one instance he asked for an immediate trial in the case of some American seamen who claimed to have been imprisoned for over thirty days without a hearing. The trial was under way within a week and the men were discharged.⁷

Again, Larkin sought justice indirectly for himself in the case of a Sandwich Islander in his employ who, he claimed, was assaulted and robbed by a soldier of Governor Micheltorena. The matter apparently received prompt attention from the governor, for Larkin noted at the foot of his complaint that the soldier was kept in irons for several months, and then sent back to Mexico.⁸

The story of the arrest and temporary deportation from California of Isaac Graham and other foreigners in 1840 lies outside the scope of this writing, both chronologically and with regard to subject matter. It may be noted here, however, that in 1844 Graham requested Larkin to take up his claim for damages against Mexico. Larkin forwarded Graham's letter to the

⁷ These were the seamen turned over to Larkin for trial in his consular court, see p. 22. Larkin to the justice of the peace, Monterey, May 8, 1844. Reply, May 13, 1844.

⁸ Larkin to Manuel Micheltorena, Nov. 14, 1844. But the man was no doubt merely sent to Mexico along with others of the defeated party after the successful revolution against Micheltorena. See also deposition by Peter Perry, Nov. 14, 1844.

State Department and on several occasions urged the justice of the claim. The only result was, however, the information from the department that Mexico had assured the United States commissioner, General Waddy Thompson, that Graham's claim would be settled according to the previous agreement for such cases. Larkin communicated this intelligence to Graham and nothing further developed during the period of the consulate.⁹

There were several cases in which Larkin secured better treatment for American prisoners in California. In one instance he urged the claim of a prisoner for better food; again, the Californian authorities granted his request that an American be excused from labor with the other prisoners at the public works.¹⁰ There are other cases where the record is not complete but is sufficient to show how common it became for Americans to bring their wrongs, real or imagined, to the consul at Monterey. One man brought complaint about stolen horses; another had been refused justice when his shop at San José was robbed; an American woman wanted the local authorities to protect her from an abusive husband.¹¹ While the evidence does not indicate the success of his efforts in each case, it is plain that he was ever ready to urge any fair claim for his countrymen, and it may be safely said that he was generally given a courteous hearing by the officials of the Californian government.

⁹ Graham to Larkin, April 18, 1844. Larkin to Calhoun, April 20, 1844. Calhoun to Larkin, June 24, 1844. Larkin to Graham, May 16, 1845. Larkin to Buchanan, June 15, 1846.

¹⁰ Larkin to Narvaez, Sept. 10, 1844. Same, Sept. 6 (?), 1844.

¹¹ Larkin to the alcalde of Yerba Buena, June 6, 1845. Bellomy to Larkin, May 6, 1845. Larkin to the alcalde of San José, June 6, 1845.

CHAPTER V.

Miscellaneous Activities.

One of the greatest concerns of Larkin seems to have been that he might be helpful to emigrant parties arriving in California from the United States or the Oregon country. Some days before he formally opened his consular office, he wrote to John A. Sutter, asking him to inform immigrants as to how they might secure their passports for their stay in California.¹ In this connection it should be remembered that almost all the parties arriving in the country at this period, whether they came over the mountains from the east or down the valleys from Oregon, made their first permanent stop at the settlement around Sutter's Fort, in the lower Sacramento Valley, near the site of the present capital of California.

The settlement at Sutter's Fort was called New Helvetia, and John Augustus Sutter, a Swiss settler who had become a naturalized Mexican citizen, was the alcalde. To this man Larkin applied at once upon taking up his consular duties for prompt and detailed information about each new party that might arrive in the valley. The desired information seems to have been given cheerfully by Sutter, and Larkin's despatches to the State Department abound with information about new arrivals from "the States" and "the Oregon."²

On some occasions too, Larkin sent official communications to parties arriving at New Helvetia, giving them advice as to their settlement in California, and proffering his services as consul and countryman.³

In his first order to New York for consular supplies, he

¹ Sutter to Larkin, March 28, 1844. Will give the information to immigrants as Larkin desires.

² Larkin to Sutter, April 29, 1844. Sutter to Larkin, July 17, Aug. 7, and Dec. 10, 1844.

³ Sutter to Larkin, July 17, 1844. Larkin "To the emigrants recently arrived at the Sacramento River," Nov. 12, 1845. Larkin to Sutter, Nov. 12, 1845. Same, Jan. 20, 1846.

secured one thousand blank passports, five hundred printed in English and five hundred in Spanish. At first it was necessary for immigrants to come to Monterey to secure these passports. This proved inconvenient and Larkin sent some of the blank forms to Forbes, the British vice-consul at San Francisco, with authority for him to issue them to Americans. The fee charged for each passport was to be two dollars. Forbes issued these passports in Larkin's name, taking in each case a certificate to be returned to the consulate at Monterey. When Leidesdorff was appointed vice-consul at the close of 1845, Larkin sent some blank passports to him but no record has been found of whether he had occasion to use them.⁴

The question of the family relations of Americans on the coast early forced itself upon the attention of the Monterey consulate. During the first year of Larkin's term of office he asked the State Department repeatedly about the question of the marriage of Americans in California. He referred several times to the fact that John A. Sutter, as alcalde of New Helvetia, was performing the marriage ceremony for Americans when they so desired. This to Larkin's mind was illegal, since by the laws of Mexico only a Catholic priest could solemnize marriage. Yet the question was a perplexing one, because men and women arriving in the far-away land of California seemed anxious and determined to unite their fortunes in wedlock. Larkin understood that it was proper for a United States consul to perform the marriage ceremony for his countrymen on board an American ship, and basing his conclusions upon that fact he finally consented to marry one couple in the consular house. It was probably a pressing case. The couple were both from the state

⁴ Larkin to Robinson, April 30, 1844. Same, May 6, 1845. Larkin to Sutter, Aug. 7, 1844. Larkin to Forbes, June 9, 1845. Reply, June 25, 1845. Larkin to Green, Oct. 30, 1845. Howard to Larkin, Nov. 30, 1845. Larkin to Leidesdorff, Jan. 20, 1846. Forbes to Larkin, Feb. 24, 1846. Passports were also issued by the California alcaldes, and in this capacity Sutter sometimes issued them to immigrants; see original of one issued by Sutter, in Vallejo, *Documentos*, MSS., 12:151. See also Sutter to Larkin, July 15, 1845. But the policy of the local government was so changeable with reference to foreigners, and so seldom in accord with the decrees of Mexico against foreign immigration, that it would be difficult to discover any system in the practice of granting passports at this time. For records of passports, see *Departmental State Papers*, Juzgados and Naturalization, MS.

of Missouri, and Larkin could get no information from the Secretary of State on the question. So the marriage was effected and in reporting the case to the State Department, Larkin emphasized the solemnity of the occasion by stating that it took place in the consular house "with the Flag flying." He later received word from Buchanan that there was no law authorizing a United States consul to perform the marriage ceremony, and that, according to the interpretation of Chancellor Kent, the local laws and customs should be adhered to in carrying out the marriage rite.⁵

In one case the questions of divorce and remarriage united to perplex the consul. A man and woman had been married in Oregon and on coming to California the woman refused to live longer with her husband. The latter appealed to Larkin in the matter, asking that he use his influence to restore to him his lawful wife. The consul used his best powers of argument with both of the parties in his efforts to effect a reconciliation. His efforts were of so little avail that in reply the man and wife sent to him a joint and urgent request for a divorce. This he peremptorily refused as beyond his power, and stated that the only thing that he could suggest was for them to prepare a certified statement of their desires and the reasons therefor, which statement might be used by the husband in securing a divorce in "the States" whither he declared his intention of going at once. However, Larkin stated to them that he doubted whether they had any sufficient grounds on which to secure a divorce.

The next heard of this case by the consul was that the parties had in some way, probably by a written mutual agreement, taken steps by which they considered themselves divorced, and the woman had been united in marriage with a second husband by the alcalde at New Helvetia. Larkin protested vehemently against the obvious illegality of this whole proceeding, but his protest was apparently fruitless.⁶

⁵ Larkin to Calhoun, April 11, 1844. Same, Aug. 18, 1844. Same, Jan. 1, 1846. Buchanan to Larkin, July 14, 1846. Larkin to Beach, Sept. 30, 1845.

⁶ Letters to Larkin, Dec. 4, 1844, Feb. 12, 1845. Letters by Larkin, Dec. 24, 1844, March 16, 1845, Jan. 20, 1846.

Late in 1845 a couple, married by Sutter at New Helvetia, came down to San Francisco, where the woman found that she had been deceived as to the desirability of her newly-wedded companion. She at once declared that her marriage was illegal according to the laws of the country, and applied for protection to the vice-consul, William A. Leidesdorff. He referred the matter to Larkin who seemed not to know what could be done in the case, but took the occasion to write to Sutter and explain to him the trouble likely to be occasioned then and thereafter from marriages by the alcalde, which were not in accord with the laws of the country.⁷

In another case Larkin tried to summon before him an American couple, who had been living together illegally as he believed. The parties refused to appear at Monterey and the alcalde at Santa Cruz, where they were residing, seemed unable or unwilling to do anything in the case. The man insisted on his determination not to leave the woman and Larkin's efforts to separate them seem to have been of no avail.⁸

In one instance an American woman, with eight children, applied to Larkin for protection against her husband who molested but refused to support the family. It has been noted in the preceding chapter that Larkin applied to the alcalde of San José for the protection of this woman against her husband. At the same time the consul thanked one of the mission padres of Santa Clara for aiding this woman in building a house near the mission. Later on, the question arose as to the claims of the father on the minor children of this family. Larkin rendered the decision that, according to the laws of the United States, the father should have the children if he was able and willing to support them properly. Larkin's knowledge of the "laws of the United States" was undoubtedly in the form of a very much generalized mental digest. However, the above instances indicate a serious effort on the part of the consul to deal with some perplexing questions

⁷ Letters to Leidesdorff, Dec. 31, 1845. Leidesdorff to Guerrero, Jan. 1, 1846. Larkin to Leidesdorff, Jan. 20, 1846. Larkin to Sutter, Jan. 20, 1846.

⁸ Larkin to the justice of the peace, Santa Cruz, Nov. 19, 1845. Reply, Dec. 4, 1845.

arising from the family relations of Americans in a strange country.⁹

When citizens of the United States died in California, Larkin seems to have been careful to notify the State Department and, when possible, the relatives of the deceased.¹⁰

We have noted in a preceding chapter how Larkin was about to settle the estate of William A. Leidesdorff in 1848, but desisted when he found that the deceased had been a naturalized Mexican citizen.¹¹

There is fragmentary evidence that the consul settled a small estate for a seaman who died of consumption while under consular care. In writing to the relatives, Larkin stated that he would soon collect the back wages of the man and send them to the father in obedience to the dying request of the seaman. There is also preserved a certified list of the man's personal effects, with an estimated valuation by two traders of Monterey.¹²

In one case, Larkin persuaded a dying man to make a will a few days before his death. The mother of this man proved to be an indigent widow in Virginia, who could not even write her own name. She or her agent received through Larkin at least three installments accruing from the estate, amounting to eight hundred and fifty dollars. The consul also forwarded to her the deeds to some property in Indiana.¹³

Somewhat of an international complication in miniature occurred when an Indian, who had come from Oregon with his people on a hunting trip to California, was murdered by an

⁹ Letter to Larkin, June 6, 1845. Larkin to Pico, June 6, 1845. Larkin to Rial, June 6, 1845. Larkin to alcalde of Yerba Buena, June 25, 1845.

¹⁰ Larkin to Buchanan, Dec. 31, 1845. Larkin to Mrs. Dolly Harner, April 23, 1844. Larkin to Pierce and Mrs. Joseph Blaney, March 20, 1844. Larkin to John and Elizabeth Goddard, Boston, March 30, 1845.

¹¹ See p. 15.

¹² Smallpox and consumption are the fatal diseases most often mentioned in the Larkin correspondence as prevalent in California at the time. Larkin to John Pierce and Mrs. Joseph Blaney, March 20, 1845. Certified list of Wm. Pierce's effects, March 31, 1845.

¹³ Larkin to Mrs. Dolly Harner, Morgantown, Va., April 23, 1844. Dolly Harner, by N. B. Madera, to Larkin, June 30, 1844. G. R. C. Allen, Morgantown, Va., to Larkin, Oct. 1, 1845. Same, Dec. 21, 1848. Same, March 3, 1853. Same, April 20, 1853.

American settler at New Helvetia. The Indians beat a hasty retreat to Oregon and there prepared, so it was claimed, to invade California two thousand strong. Elijah White, United States sub-Indian agent in Oregon, began a vigorous correspondence about the matter with the Californian authorities. Larkin, as United States consul, took a prominent part in the correspondence, but the machinery of departmental justice, slow in the most auspicious circumstances, failed utterly in dealing with a case involving external relations. Interest in the case was roused intermittently by reports of impending Indian invasions, the last scare coming and going in the fall of 1846.¹⁴

Among Larkin's miscellaneous activities may be mentioned his appointment of William Alexander Leidesdorff as vice-consul for the port of San Francisco. The appointment was made at the time of Larkin's visit to San Francisco in the fall of 1845 just after the attack on Libbey and Spear had occurred. It seemed to Larkin that the maritime and other interests of Americans about the bay would profit by the presence of a vice-consul there. So he made the appointment and Leidesdorff promptly accepted it. Larkin then notified the Californian authorities and asked them to recognize the appointment temporarily, pending its ratification by the United States and Mexico. The replies from the local officials were only partly satisfactory. Some ratified the appointment and some did not. José Castro, commander-general, acknowledged Leidesdorff at once, while Governor Pio Pico declined to do so until orders to that effect should come from Mexico. The lower officials of the department also differed in their action on the case. No trace has been found of the ratification of the appointment by the United States government for which Larkin applied to the State Department, and it is probable that the matter was purposely left in abeyance on account of the near approach of the war with Mexico.¹⁵

¹⁴ White, to the "American Consul for California," May 16, 1845. Sutter to Larkin, July 21, 1845. Larkin to Clyman, Oct. 29, 1845. Larkin to White, July 31, 1845. Larkin to Buchanan, Sept. 29, 1845. References are here given only for Larkin's part in the affair. For extended references on the entire incident see Bancroft, *Hist. of Cal.*, 4:545, note 66; 5:301-302, notes 12, 13.

¹⁵ Larkin to Leidesdorff, Oct. 29, 1845. Reply, Oct. 29, 1845. Castro to Larkin, Nov. 10, 1845. Leidesdorff to Larkin, Nov. 18, 1845. Same,

In the face of these difficulties, Larkin advised Leidesdorff to act as vice-consul in matters to be settled with Americans on shipboard and to get along as best he could with his duties on shore. The vice-consul acted on this advice and in a small way cared for the maritime interests of the United States at San Francisco. He opened an office, received ship's papers, gave temporary aid to disabled seamen, and referred to Larkin matters that seemed beyond the powers of the somewhat hampered vice-consulate to settle. Indeed, his chief activity and usefulness consisted in referring to Larkin matters that concerned the maritime or other interests of United States citizens. Especially at the time of the Bear Flag uprising was he useful in sending to Larkin detailed information about the progress of events.¹⁶

The expiration of Leidesdorff's appointment was a matter of uncertainty at the time, in some such manner as has been mentioned in a preceding chapter with reference to the Larkin consulate. The vice-consul seems to have felt that the conquest in 1846 ended his official duties. However, when called upon to settle a dispute between a seaman and his captain in the fall of 1847, he did so on the ground that his appointment had never been revoked. As far as can be judged from the records this was the last official act of this somewhat irregular and only partially recognized vice-consulate.¹⁷

Before closing these chapters relating to Larkin's regular consular activities, it is perhaps in order to sum up his work and place an estimate upon it. In so doing mention should be made of the only attack worthy of note ever made upon the value of his official services. In the *St. Louis Reveille* of September 14, 1846, appeared an article over the signature of John Armstrong.

Nov. 29, 1845. Larkin to Pico, Dec. 1, 1845. Narvaez to Larkin, Dec. 12, 1845. De la Guerra to Larkin, Dec. 20, 1845. Pico to Larkin, Dec. 27, 1845. Larkin to Buchanan, Jan. 6, 1846. Larkin to Leidesdorff, Jan. 20, 1846.

¹⁶ Leidesdorff to Larkin, Dec. 22, 1845. Same, Jan. 3, 1846. Larkin to Leidesdorff, Jan. 20, 1846. Leidesdorff to Larkin, March 19, 1846. Larkin to Leidesdorff, April 19, 1846. Guerrero to Leidesdorff, April 30, 1846, enclosing a proclamation of Prefect Manuel Castro. Larkin to Leidesdorff, May 26, 1846. Receipt by Leidesdorff, June 17, 1846. Leidesdorff to Larkin, June 19, 1846. Larkin to Leidesdorff, June 22, 1846. Leidesdorff to Larkin, June 30, 1846.

¹⁷ Leidesdorff to Larkin, July 12, 1846. Same, Sept. 15, 1847.

This man claimed to have spent some time in California shortly before the writing, and he made severe strictures on the alleged laxity of Larkin's efforts in aiding his countrymen, and other faults in his personal and official conduct. The matter was taken up in the *Boston Post* and other papers and apparently attained a degree of notoriety. Some of Larkin's relatives and friends answered the charges as best they could at the time, meanwhile sending copies of the various articles to Larkin.

It is not worth while to go into the affair in detail. Larkin obtained statements from leading men, American and Spanish, in California, refuting the main charges in a most thorough manner. People in California had never heard of the man who made the attack, and it is probable that some enemy of Larkin wrote the original article under a false name.

Larkin's stepbrother, Eben L. Childs, went to see the State Department in the consul's behalf when the charges were first published and later Larkin informed the Secretary of State that the statements of refutation would be placed in the hands of Mr. Childs. However, the department ignored the whole matter and refused to attach any importance whatever to it.

The best refutation of the attack is the article itself which is filled with obvious misstatements of historical facts, such as the assertion that Larkin had been for years a Mexican citizen. Many Americans in California before the conquest did become naturalized Mexican citizens but Larkin always refused to do so.¹⁸

In estimating the worth of Larkin's regular official activities in caring for the interests of United States citizens in California, it would not be amiss to state the case negatively by saying that the general trend of the above mentioned attack upon him was diametrically opposed to the truth.

Larkin came to a new country, as did the other men of his time, to advance his own personal interests. He secured the consular appointment because he wanted it. He enjoyed the

¹⁸ Copy of article and introductory remarks from *St. Louis Weekly Beveille*, of Sept. 14, 1846. Rogers to Larkin, Nov. 2, 1846. Same, Nov. 16, 1846. Childs to Larkin, Dec. 10, 1846. Bidwell to Larkin, April 26, 1847. Larkin to Buchanan, April 29, 1847. Juan B. Alvarado to Larkin, April 30, 1847. Semple to Larkin, May 3, 1847. Childs to Larkin, Sept. 25, 1847.

honor of it and tried to make it pay financially. It was undoubtedly an indirect help to his business interests. Moreover, in his reports to the State Department, he had a tendency to magnify tactfully his public services. His object seems to have been partly to receive due honor for his labor, but chiefly to strengthen his continued claims for better remuneration.

On the other hand, there are some really notable elements to be found in Larkin's work as consul. He had a hard job and he gave his best to it. No one can go through the correspondence of the time carefully without realizing that Larkin was zealous "in season and out of season" in attending to his consular duties. He should have been better supported early in his consulate. The United States government never gave proper support to its consular officers until the Law of 1856 was passed. Larkin was in a new country where expenses came upon him, probably known, in their exorbitance, to few, if any other consulates. Larkin tried continually to have his remuneration increased but, though his efforts were unsuccessful until he began to act as confidential agent in April, 1846, he never relaxed his attention to duty.

Especially in caring for American commercial interests, in giving aid to destitute seamen, and in guarding the civil rights of his countrymen, were the efforts of the United States consul in California untiring.

CHAPTER VI

Larkin's Early Attitude Toward the Acquisition of California. April, 1844-April, 1846.

In considering the part taken by Larkin in the acquisition of California, the subject matter may be divided logically and chronologically into three parts. The first part includes the period from the beginning of the consulate in April, 1844, to April 17, 1846. During this period, Larkin had no definite instructions from the State Department with regard to the acquisition of California. During the second period, he did work under such definite instructions, and this is the period of the confidential agency. It begins with the receipt by Larkin, on April 17, 1846, of his commission as confidential agent, and ends with the beginning of the conquest by Admiral Sloat in July, 1846. The third period deals with the activities of Larkin during the conquest.

The portion of this monograph dealing with Larkin's part in the acquisition of California will, therefore, be divided into three chapters, dealing respectively with the three periods above mentioned.

The period to be covered in this chapter extends over almost exactly two years, from the formal opening of the consulate on April 2, 1844, to the receipt by Larkin of his commission as confidential agent, on April 17, 1846.¹

At the very beginning of this period, Larkin believed that California would not remain permanently a part of the Mexican Republic, and he looked forward to the acquisition of the country by the United States.

One thing should be said first of all in regard to Larkin's policy for the acquisition. He emphasized unceasingly the need and the justice of continuing on terms of friendship with the

¹ See Appendix 4.

inhabitants of the country. He recognized continually that there were many undesirable traits in these people of Spanish extraction. But their inborn courtesy, hospitality, and good nature appealed to him. Perhaps the bent of the trader also influenced him. As the trader element in every new occupation gets on most smoothly with the original inhabitants of the new country, so it was in California. The traders in California had quarrels with the local authorities, and Larkin himself, as consul, had to deal almost autocratically with them at times. But his dealings in such cases were always tempered by the undercurrent of his desire to be on terms of friendship with them. In the Libbey-Spear affair a prominent trader of San Francisco failed, in Larkin's opinion, to do his duty in supporting the American side of the controversy, because, as the consul put it, "the man was afraid that his trade relations were at stake." So the traders got on better with the Californians than did those who came to take up landed interests. Logically therefore, the Bear Flag revolt began among the latter class in the Sacramento Valley.

Perhaps this trader instinct affected Larkin's attitude. Perhaps it was a mere matter of political expediency with him. Perhaps it was a finer sense of justice than that possessed by some who hungered for the spoils of conquest. More than likely it is that several motives blended to make Larkin's attitude what it was. At all events it is to be remembered that, from the beginning, Larkin gave much thought to the relations of friendship between the Americans and the Californians.

As early as April, 1844, in a despatch to the State Department, Larkin emphasized the fact that the good order which prevailed during the seizure of Monterey by Commodore Jones in 1842 had made a good impression upon the inhabitants of California. In many subsequent despatches, he mentioned this point and emphasized the fact that Americans in the department were hospitably received and kindly treated. It was almost a matter of pride to him that he remained on such good terms with the Californians and with most of the officials.²

Larkin, as a general rule, was on exceptionally good terms with the Californians. His friendship for Governor Michel-

² Larkin to Calhoun, April 16, 1844.

torena amounted almost to attachment and there was a constant interchange of private and official favors between the two men. Perhaps Larkin's friendship for Micheltorena helped to bring about the strained relations with Pio Pico who displaced Micheltorena as governor. Yet the consul's desire for harmony is shown even here in his continued efforts to come to a better understanding with Governor Pico. The officials often granted him favors, which sometimes even involved a breach of custom or law. And during the troublous times of Frémont's controversy with the local authorities, and at the time of the Bear Flag, and the conquest, it was the United States consul who in many cases could correspond both as an official and a friend with the outraged Californians.³

The fact will be noted subsequently that during the conquest Larkin tried to temper at times the rigorous treatment of the Californians, and that he desired continually to have the rights of "the original owners of the country" respected.

Another conspicuous element in Larkin's attitude toward the acquisition of California was his jealousy of the influence of other nations in the country. England and France were the two nations that he feared. In June, 1844, he mentioned to the State Department that a French ship was in Monterey for the purpose of starting a trade between the Marquesas Islands and California. He noted in this connection that the project was being helped by the liberal attitude of the local government in the matter of the commercial regulation of the proposed trade. About one year later, Larkin's correspondence contains several references to the French consul in California. It is rumored that he receives a salary of over \$4000. There are scant commercial interests with which he can concern himself. There must be some ulterior motive.⁴

But England was by far the greatest object of Larkin's fear. Again and again, beginning June 20, 1844, he urges upon the State Department, and upon personal correspondents in the

³ De la Guerra to Larkin, Aug. 16, 1844. Larkin to Micheltorena, March 21, 1845. Larkin to Sterns, April 12, 1845. Alvarado to Larkin, April 30, 1847.

⁴ Larkin to Calhoun, June 20, 1844. Same, July 10, 1845. Larkin to *Journal of Commerce*, N. Y., July, 1845.

United States, that the English settlements in Oregon were not temporary but permanent. In a letter of August 4, 1844, to Senator Robert J. Walker, Larkin says "I am aware that some of our senators are under the idea that the English are leaving their possessions at the Columbia; the reverse is the case; their people, their business, and their flocks are increasing, their fields and cultivations keep pace with these views; last week one of their vessels put into San Francisco with as I understand a load of flour and boards for the Sandwich Islands."

Such were Larkin's ideas about the English in Oregon and thus he was moved continually to the belief that the Hudson's Bay establishment at San Francisco had great political significance.

The presence of the British vice-consul in California on a salary of \$1000, with no great duties in the way of guarding commercial interests and even with permission to live in the interior if he so desired, seemed all too suspicious to Larkin. With regard to the objects of France and England in having consular representatives in California, Larkin wrote in July, 1845, that sometime "Uncle Sam will know to his cost."⁵

The Hudson's Bay agent in San Francisco was said to have sold supplies to the successful revolutionists against Governor Micheltorena early in 1845. Then, when it was reported that Mexico was sending a new governor with troops to enforce his claims, the word was spread that an English house in Mexico guaranteed funds for the expedition. Larkin took careful note of these rumors and mentioned them over and over again to his government that it might be on its guard.⁶

Recent study has shown that the British government had no designs on California. The same study has shown, however, that British agents were not in sympathy with the attitude of their government, and tried to change it. The vice-consul at San Francisco himself forwarded to his government, with his own endorsement, a proposition of some revolutionary Californians

⁵ See Appendix 2, for a more extended notice of the European consular representatives in California.

⁶ Larkin to [Buchanan], July 10, 1845. Larkin to *Journal of Commerce*, N. Y., July, 1845.

to put California under the protection of Great Britain. Therefore, judging by the appearances in the case, Larkin had little to lose and everything to gain by regarding with jealousy any growth of foreign influence in California.¹

When Larkin first reported to the State Department as to the Hudson's Bay Company on the coast and the general status of American and foreign influence in Oregon and California, he received the following encouragement and admonition in a despatch dated October 25, 1844; "The information . . . is of an important and interesting character, and it is earnestly hoped that you will continue to report to the Department, such facts as may come to your knowledge touching the political condition of these Countries, especially if your communications can be made subservient to, or may effect the interest and well being of our Government."

Larkin was never slow to understand the careful statements of diplomatic usage. He complied with the above request. He sent continuous and detailed statements of the ebb and flow of the various currents of political and social life in California. As mentioned above, he kept the department fully informed on the growth, real or apparent, of foreign influence in California. He also wrote at length on the lack of sympathy between California and Mexico. Again and again, he reiterated the fact that Mexican laws were commonly ignored in California. He told also in detail of the military equipment of the department, of the lack of support from Mexico, and the consequent turmoil and instability inherent in the local government. Aside from these things, he magnified the potential greatness of California in agriculture, mineral wealth, and commerce. He gloried in the increase of American immigration to the country and when he could do so truthfully he told of the good feeling that existed between Americans and Californians.

Such information from the Monterey consulate must have had no small influence on the policy of the United States government with respect to California.

Although Larkin, from the beginning of his consulate, had a

¹ Adams, E. D., *English Interest in the Annexation of California*, in *American Historical Review*, 14 (1909):744-763.

growing conviction that California would not remain permanently a part of Mexico, he was generally quite uncertain as to what the change would be and how it would be brought about.

About the middle of 1844, he had a definite plan which was in line with Tyler's idea of a tripartite treaty between Great Britain, Mexico, and the United States. Larkin had read about it in the newspapers from "the States." The suggestion was to give England certain degrees of territory north of the Columbia in exchange for other degrees of California to be purchased by England from Mexico. Larkin was a California partisan and did not value very highly the Oregon territory. He early emphasized the difficult navigation at the entrance of the Columbia River. He also urged the fact that parties of emigrants removed from Oregon to California, and declared "There is no comparison between the two countries."

So he favored this plan and argued for it in his private and official correspondence. On one point he insisted with especial emphasis. He wanted the proposal extended so as to include all, or most of Alta California, at least far enough south to include Los Angeles. His definite proposal to the State Department was that England be granted eight degrees north of the Columbia River, in exchange for eight degrees of California south of the forty-second parallel.⁸

In the remainder of this chapter will be considered chronologically, beginning about the middle of 1845, Larkin's attitude and activities with regard to the acquisition of California by the United States. This method will provide a suitable background for the succeeding chapter on the confidential agency.

The war scare of 1845 waxed and waned periodically in the far west. Early in June an American from Cape San Lucas brought such a credible rumor of a declaration of war by Mexico against the United States that Larkin believed it to be true, and wrote to the American captains and supercargoes at

⁸ Larkin to Walker, Aug. 4, 1844. Larkin to Calhoun, Aug. 18, 1844. For the origin, development, and final failure of the plan, favored by Tyler and Webster, for a tripartite treaty between Great Britain, Mexico, and the United States, see *Niles' National Register*, 70 (1846): 257. Tyler, L. G. *Letters and Times of the Tylers*. Richmond and Williamsburg, Va. 1884-96. 2:260-262, 3:206. Schouler, James. *History of the United States*. Revised ed. New York, c. 1894-99. 4:447.

San Francisco to that effect, advising them to deposit in some safe place on shore certified lists of the debts owed to them by Californians.⁹ Proclamations by Pio Pico and official despatches from Mexico in August and September declared that war was imminent. On September 29th, Larkin wrote to Buchanan that news of hostilities was daily expected and that he would ask the warship *Levant* to remain in California waters until definite news should be received as to the results of the Texas Convention of July 4th. So the war question dragged on throughout the fall with only the excitement of the Libbey-Spear affair in the middle of October to divert attention from it.¹⁰

Larkin's attitude during this period with regard to the future of California can best be learned from the following, taken partly in abstract, partly verbatim, from his letter written late in July, 1845, to the *New York Journal of Commerce*:¹¹ The presence of the English and French consuls, with large salaries and almost no consular duties, is suspicious. "Why they are in service their government best knows, and Uncle Sam will know to his cost." The products of California are manifold and rich, and "the country presents each year a bolder front to the world. It must change owners. It is of no use to Mexico,"—only "a bone of contention. . . . There is the bay of San Francisco; . . . This bay will hold all the ships in the United States. The entrance is very narrow, between two mountains, easily defended, and perhaps the most magnificent harbor in the world. . . . Some day or other this will belong to some naval power." The foreign trade of California is in the hands of Americans; there are also great numbers of American whaling vessels off the northwest coast and for them the port of San Francisco is very essential. If England, France or Russia should ever own California, "and at some future day declare war against the United States, what will be the result? San Francisco must be obtained, or the Oregon and California must become a nation within themselves." It would be well to give

⁹ Larkin to Henry Mellus and Thomas B. Park, June 7, 1845.

¹⁰ For Libbey-Spear affair see pp. 28-33.

¹¹ Exact date of writing probably July 31, 1845. Letter reprinted in *Niles' National Register*, 69 (1845-1846):203-204.

England eight degrees of territory north of the Columbia River for eight degrees of California south of the forty-second parallel, to be purchased by England from Mexico. Oregon is not nearly so necessary to the United States as California. The future destiny of California is sure to be worked out by a more energetic people than the Mexicans who now possess it. "The time will come, must come, when this country must be peopled by another race."

Such were the almost prophetic utterances of Larkin in July, 1845, and they represent in a general way his belief about the destiny of California from the beginning of his consulate.

As the fall of 1845 wore on, there came a gradual change in the relations between the Americans and the Californians. It would be strictly true to say that the Bear Flag storm of June, 1846, was already brewing. The war rumors from Mexico; the fears that the Californian officials would obey their orders from Mexico and attempt to drive the newly arrived immigrants out of California; the passion aroused by the Libbey-Spear affair; all of these things united to strain the relations between the two peoples.¹²

On November 4, 1845, while in San Francisco attending to the Libbey-Spear matter, Larkin wrote to the Secretary of State, James Buchanan: "There is a strong jealousy springing up in

¹² While the order of July 10, 1845, from Mexico, was not enforced, it is idle to say that many Americans and others did not fear for the safety of the new settlers, or at least believe that there would be serious trouble between them and the Californian officials. See Bancroft, *Hist. of Cal.*, 4:604-608. Compare this with text and cited authorities on Libbey-Spear affair, pp. 32-37, 40, above. Also letter, John A. Sutter to Larkin, Nov. 5, 1845: "I wish you had not been so much engaged by your [Libbey-Spear] trial, that you could come up here to assist your respectable countrymen . . . if it would be not in your power, or in the power of a Man of War to protect them, *I will do it*, . . . The snow is on top of the mountains, their animals are worn out . . . they could not leave the country before the next month of May or June." Also Wm. A. Richardson to Larkin, Dec. 19, 1845: "I arrived here [at Santa Clara, en route by land from Monterey to San Francisco] last night every thing is in a very disorderly state they are fortifying in San José, . . . you will hear very soon of a general turn out if the party goes over to the north to pass over horses as they say, we shall be ready to oppose them and give them a warm reception if required, . . ."

This last statement is significant when it is recalled that the Bear Flag uprising began only about six months later by the seizure of the horses which Lieutenant Arce was bringing from Sonoma to Santa Clara.

this country against Americans. It is a subject of too much importance for me to predict what will be the state and situations of the Californians and foreigners in even five years. I shall be in continual expectations of hearing of some outbreak from one or the other, in one or two years, perhaps in less time."

Such, to Larkin's mind, were the signs of the times in the fall of 1845. On December 10th, Brevet Captain John Charles Frémont arrived at Sutter's Fort, and his presence in California during the succeeding months was destined to hasten the "outbreak" predicted by Larkin.

This was Frémont's third expedition west of the Rocky Mountains and the second to California. He was at this time a brevet captain in the corps of topographical engineers, and the object of his expedition was to determine the most practicable route from the United States to the Pacific Ocean.

It is the purpose here to treat of Frémont's activities only with reference to Larkin's part in them and his attitude toward them.

Frémont visited Monterey January 27 to 29, 1846. During his stay Larkin aided him in securing supplies, and with him held an interview with the Californian officials, the result of which was that a verbal or tacit permission was given to Frémont to winter with his surveying and exploring party in California.¹³

Frémont then hastened from Monterey to meet the larger portion of his party that had entered California by a more southerly route than that taken by Frémont and the others. The two portions of the party had failed to meet earlier at the appointed rendezvous in the San Joaquin Valley, but now they were reunited on February 15th, and went into camp on a vacant *rancho* about twelve miles south of San José.

After remaining there about one week, Frémont and his party moved leisurely southward through the Santa Cruz Mountains, and on March 5th encamped about twenty-five miles from Monterey.

On March 4th, Larkin wrote to the Secretary of State: "Frémont . . . is now in this vicinity surveying and will

¹³ For further consideration of the affair at Hawk's Peak, see Appendix 3.

be again at this Consular House during this month; he then proceeds for the Oregon, returns here in May, and expects to be in Washington about September."

On March 5th, as noted above, Frémont encamped about twenty-five miles from Monterey. From his camp he sent a messenger to Larkin with a letter which contained the following: "It would have afforded me pleasure to thank you personally for the kindness of your late letters, but I am unwilling to leave my party, and the presence of my little force might be disagreeable to the authorities in Monterey. I therefore practice the selfdenial which is a constant virtue here, and forego the pleasure I should have found in seeing some little of society in your capital. . . . I shall soon be laboriously employed; the spring promises to be a glorious one, and a month or two will pass quickly and usefully among the flowers while we are waiting on the season for our operations in the north."

So wrote Frémont to Larkin on March 5, 1846. On the same day he received orders from the officials at Monterey to the effect that he should leave the department at once, as his presence was contrary to the laws of Mexico. The succeeding events are well known and will be merely mentioned. Frémont declared that the orders were contrary to the assurances previously given to him, and therefore he refused to comply. The Californians at once mustered their forces, ostensibly to attack the American party, and Frémont fortified a position on Hawk's Peak in the Gavilan range and raised the American flag. After four or five days of military demonstration on the part of the Californians, Frémont withdrew quietly, on the morning of March 10th, and crossed the mountains toward the Sacramento River.

The affair at Hawk's Peak has never yet been accorded the place it should have in this period of California history. It was the first open break of the strained relations already existing between Americans and Californians. It is not surprising that the rupture came, although, had it been avoided, the later Bear Flag outbreak would probably have been postponed until all hostile acts had at least the sanction of regular warfare. Because of the importance of the Hawk's Peak affair, and since

Larkin was one of the chief actors in it, it will be worth while to record briefly the part played by him and his attitude toward the whole affair.

In the first place, it may be noted that Larkin acted as a kind of middleman between the two parties to the controversy. He was on friendly terms with both of them and desired to remain so. In a sense, he was a neutral third party; for during the controversy he kept up a friendly correspondence with both sides and manifested a degree of sympathy for each of the contending parties.

As to his influence in the affair, it was on the side of moderation, trying to get each party to see the viewpoint of the other and not to act rashly through a misunderstanding of motives.

His efforts in this line may be set forth in his own language. When the authorities began to muster troops to march against Frémont, Larkin addressed to Prefect Manuel Castro, and Commander-General José Castro, each a copy of a note from which the following is taken: "The undersigned . . . would therefore take the liberty of saying, that although he is well aware that you, as a Mexican Officer and a Patriot, are bound to take every step that may redound to the integrity and interest of your country, he would further observe, that his countrymen must not be unjustly or unnecessarily harassed from causes that may arise from false reports or false appearances; and would recommend, that if any party is going to the camp of Captain Frémont that it may be commanded by a trustworthy and experienced Officer, which may prevent affairs, on the meeting of the two parties, from being brought to some unhappy conclusion."

To Frémont, Larkin gave the most kindly and sound advice: "It is not for me to point out to you your line of conduct, you have your Government Instructions, my knowledge of your character obliges me to believe you will follow them. . . . Your encamping so near Town has caused much excitement, the Natives are firm in the belief that they will break you up, and that you can be entirely destroyed by their power; in all probability they will attack you, the result either way may cause trouble to

Resident Americans. I myself have no fears on the subject, yet believe the present state of affairs may cause an interruption to business. Should it be impossible or inconvenient for you to leave California at present, I think in a proper representation to the General and Prefecto, an arrangement could be made for your Camp to be continued, but at some greater distance; which arrangement I would advise if you can offer it. I never make to this Government an unreasonable request, therefore never expect a denial, and have for many years found them well disposed to me."

In the very heat of the controversy the alcalde of Monterey, Manuel Diaz, granted a passport to a courier from Larkin to Frémont's camp. The consul returned the courtesy by giving the alcalde a copy of Frémont's reply. His object is stated in an appended note: "With the hopes of its allaying the present sensations, bringing affairs to a better understading, and, that the authorities may not suppose I have any improper correspondence with Captain Frémont." At the same time Larkin wrote to Diaz: "I would with pleasure allay the present sensation, if in my power. . . . I would respectfully advise, that you would, in your letter to the General [José Castro] today, say that I would take the liberty to propose, that he should send a letter to Captain Frémont requesting one hour's conversation, before any extreme measures are taken; as I am of the firm opinion, should that Officer be attacked, much bloodshed will ensue, that may cause not only loss of life to many of the present parties, but cause hereafter much expense, trouble, and perhaps further loss of life to many of our respective Nations, and I am satisfied that no present or future advantage will be obtained by the Country from the circumstances as they now appear. I have reason to believe that Captain Frémont only waits a few days to rest his horses (having purchased his provisions) and intends to remove immediately from California; yet it may be impossible for him to do so while surrounded by people with hostile intentions toward him."

Such was the moderating influence exercised by Larkin in the affair of Hawk's Peak. His efforts must have had an effect in preventing hasty action. As to his influence on Frémont's

actions there can be little doubt. When Frémont received Larkin's note during the afternoon of March 9th he answered the hurrying courier, as he states, without waiting to read Larkin's letter. At least, he did not stop to consider it. "I am making myself as strong as possible, in the intention that if we are unjustly attacked we will fight to extremity and refuse quarter." So wrote Frémont in haste, and the courier made the return journey to Larkin the same day. But, as the evening came on, the note of Larkin must have had its effect on Frémont. Instead of continuing his camp, as he had done for four days, and fortifying it for a "fight to extremity" as he replied to the consul he was doing, early the next morning he and his party pulled down their flag, broke camp, and began their journey over the mountains toward the Sacramento.

A member of the party wrote later, in a narrative of the event that Frémont received an order from the American consul to leave. Judging from Frémont's sudden change of policy after receiving Larkin's note, and from the testimony of the man just mentioned, it is certain that the decision to retire was partly the result of Larkin's influence. Probably it was the direct result of the consul's letter.¹⁴

Larkin's influence on the attitude of José Castro was probably as great. The commander-general had no desire to come within range of Frémont's riflemen, but he was making a military demonstration that would render the subsequent relations between Americans and Californians more critical. Larkin's advice to him through Manuel Diaz, quoted above, was for a conference with Frémont, and the same thought was expressed to Frémont in the consul's letter. José Castro sent John Gilroy, an Englishman, to the camp of Frémont on the morning of the 11th. This was the first camp made after the party left their fortified position on the morning of the 10th. Gilroy found the camp deserted and the fires still burning. It was understood at the time that Gilroy carried a message from Castro offering Frémont to enter into some satisfactory arrangement to end the controversy. Later there arose improbable rumors to the effect that Castro wanted Frémont to join forces with him, march

¹⁴ Martin, *Narrative*, MS., p. 12.

against Governor Pio Pico, and declare California independent. It is very probable that Castro simply intended to offer some amicable arrangement to Frémont, which plan had just been suggested to both of them by Larkin.

The affair at Hawk's Peak ended more happily than it might have done, had there been no one to advise moderation to each of the contending parties.

As to Larkin's attitude in placing the blame for the whole affair, it is much more favorable to Frémont than is the opinion of some later writers. Of course, it is a safe presumption to hold that Larkin would be prejudiced in favor of his countryman. But he would never have tolerated such outrageous conduct toward the Californians as some have seemed to see in Frémont's acts at the time. Larkin was present at the interview in January when Frémont was given permission to winter in California. He knew what the agreement was. He examined later into some alleged misconduct of Frémont's men toward a family of Californians near Monterey. This event happened just previous to the breach of relations on March 5th. Larkin's examination of the matter a few days later proved to him on the testimony of the Californians themselves that Frémont was absolutely blameless in the case. In relating the Hawk's Peak affair to the State Department, Larkin held that the greater blame in the matter rested upon the Californians, for a sudden and unwarranted change of front toward Frémont, for their peremptory manner in ordering him out of the country, and for their extremely threatening and blustering actions during the whole affair.

During the controversy Larkin sent a letter to the United States squadron at Mazatlan asking for a war-ship for the protection of American interests. His request was answered by the arrival of the *Portsmouth* within forty-two days.¹⁵

It is evident from Larkin's correspondence during late March and early April that many people expected further trouble between Americans and Californians. The latter evidently expected, or at least feared, an American uprising. On March 19th,

¹⁵ Larkin to Parrott, March 9, 1846. Larkin to the commander of any American ship of war in San Blas or Mazatlan, March 9, 1846. Larkin to Gillespie, April 23, 1846.

Larkin wrote to Stearns that since Frémont's visit he felt that further developments might be expected. On April 2nd, he said, in a despatch to the Secretary of State, that some Americans were reported to be "about to take possession of a Town in the upper part of the Bay of San Francisco." This statement is significant when it is remembered that Sonoma was seized in the Bear Flag uprising a little over two months later. However, on April 3rd, Larkin wrote to the United States minister in Mexico that, to his mind, the fears of an American uprising were not well grounded.

As to a change in California, sooner or later, Larkin at this time had no doubt. To the Secretary of State he wrote that "much of the wealth and respectability" of California would welcome a change of flag, while office-holders and the lawless element would oppose it. To an eastern newspaper he sent this prophecy: "The fate of California is one of the surest affairs yet in the womb of time." He further specified four ways in which the change to the American flag might come about, and arranged them as follows, in the order, as he believed, of their desirability to the Californians if they should be allowed to choose: 1st. By sale of the country to the United States. 2nd. By war and conquest. 3rd. By the continued immigration of Americans. 4th. By the general settlement and absorption of the country by the expected Mormon immigration.¹⁶

Such was Larkin's certainty of an early change in California, and such were his ideas of how the change might come.

A few days later the consul's relation to the fast-coming events was suddenly altered. From his government came a definite assignment of duty, by which he was given the grave and responsible task of helping to shape the course of the changing destiny of California.

On April 17, 1846, arrived in Monterey Archibald H. Gillespie, with a commission for Thomas O. Larkin, appointing him confidential agent of the United States Government.

¹⁶ Larkin to Buchanan, April 2, 1846. Larkin to Beach, April, 1846. The exact date of this letter was probably April 1st or 2nd.

CHAPTER VII.

The Confidential Agency, April-July, 1846.

In a secret despatch of October 17, 1845, signed by James Buchanan, Secretary of State, Thomas O. Larkin was appointed "Confidential Agent in California." This despatch was received by Larkin on April 17, 1846, just six months after the date of its writing.

To understand this despatch it is necessary first to analyze its contents; then to notice its relation to the administration policy at the time it was written, and, lastly, to see its significance and its effect at the time Larkin received it and began to carry out the instructions it contained.¹

A careful study of the entire despatch shows that the most prominent and oft-repeated statements in it are those instructing Larkin to use every effort to resist the influence of European nations in California. The Californians themselves are to be inspired "with a jealousy of European dominion," and they will have substantial backing in that attitude, for the United States "would vigorously interpose to prevent the latter [California] from becoming a British or French Colony."

Equally significant is the repeated suggestion that if California should "assert and maintain her independence, we [the United States] shall render her all the kind offices in our power as a Sister Republic." Moreover, if the people of California should at some time desire to have their country "become one

¹ See Appendix 4, for the full text of the secret despatch. It is also printed in full in the *Century Magazine*, 19(1891):928-929. Also in Buchanan, James. *Works*; ed. by J. B. Moore. vol. 6. Philadelphia, 1909. pp. 275-278. A long quotation from it appears in Bancroft, *Hist. of Cal.*, 4:596-597.

It is to be noted here that a copy of this despatch was given to Slidell with his instructions and he was urged to oppose England and French influence in Mexico. He was to correspond with Larkin about the matter if it seemed best. See Buchanan's instructions to Slidell, Nov. 10, 1845, printed in Buchanan's *Works*, 6:294-306.

of the free and independent States of this Union, . . . they would be received as brethren, whenever this can be done, without offending Mexico just cause of complaint."

The reference to the significance of continued American immigration into California and the evident plan to encourage it, indicate that the growth of American influence in the country was an appreciable part of the administration policy.

The statement is also made that the United States would not use "influence" or "improper influence" or "compulsion" to accomplish the desired results. Of course, it would be left to the administration to determine as to what constituted "influence" or "compulsion."

Some other points in the despatch may be merely mentioned. Larkin is to continue to furnish detailed information about the government, commerce, inhabitants, products, and military strength of California; also about the attitude "of the authorities and people towards the United States and other Governments;" and "the rate at which the number of [American] Settlers have been and still are increasing" in California. The Confidential Agent is to receive six dollars per day and "necessary traveling and other expenses," for his work, and is to "take care not to awaken the jealousy of the French and English Agents there by assuming any other than [his] Consular character."

The policy of the United States as indicated in this despatch may be summed up briefly: To resist foreign influence in California and encourage American influence until the country should become independent of Mexico and apply for admission to the United States; in other words, to acquire California as Texas had just been acquired.²

² Wm. F. Swasey claims that there were secret orders, aside from the above, brought by Gillespie to Larkin and Fremont, which commanded Fremont's return from Oregon and justified his later activities in the Bear Flag uprising. But in one account Swasey speaks of these other orders as oral, while later he states that they were contained in a written despatch which Larkin read to him and then destroyed. Moreover, Swasey reiterates the point that he became Larkin's consular secretary "immediately" following the affair at Hawk's Peak (March 5-10, 1846). This would tend to bear out his statement that Larkin confided to him the alleged secret orders in April. But Swasey was looking for work in Monterey in April and was employed for a short time during that month by Wm. H. Davis (Davis, *Sixty Years in Cal.*, p. 389). Moreover, the

This policy is much clearer when the status of the Texas question at the time is recalled. The joint resolution of Congress offering annexation to Texas was approved by President Tyler on March 1, 1845; on July 4th, the Texas Convention accepted the offer, and on the 13th of the following October, the people of Texas ratified the action of their convention. Meanwhile, to protect Texas from a possible invasion from Mexico, General Taylor advanced into the former territory in July and encamped near Corpus Christi, on the west bank of the Nueces river, in August.³

Mexico had long maintained that the annexation of Texas by the United States would be considered a *casus belli*, and the diplomatic relations between the two countries were suspended a few days after the approval on March 1, 1845, of the joint resolution for annexation.

Of course, the war with Mexico would offer ample opportunity for the seizure of California, but months passed by and Mexico, although she made some war preparations, did not open hostilities. Indeed, during September, word came from Dr. William S. Parrott, confidential agent of the United States in Mexico, that the latter nation would probably be willing to receive a commissioner from the United States. This alleged attitude on the part of Mexico opened the way for the conciliatory mission of John Slidell which was first planned by Polk and his cabinet on September 16th. The following days, until November 6th, were devoted to perfecting the plans for the mission, corresponding with Slidell about it, and ascertaining definitely, through the United States consul in the City of Mexico, as to

only record in Larkin's consulate account-books (vol. 2, p. 18) of money paid to Swasey for clerk hire is a voucher, dated Sept. 22, 1846, for \$240 paid "in full for my services as clerk in the U. S. Consulate Monterey, for four months ending this day." This is signed by Swasey and would make his clerkship begin May 22, 1846. This point finds a degree of support in Part I, of Larkin's book of *Official Correspondence*. Swasey's handwriting seems to begin with a letter of May 24th. The preceding letter, of May 21st, is in another hand.—See Swasey, *Statement*, MS., 3-10, 27. Same, *Early Days and Men of California*, 52-53.

³ For recent studies of the Texas controversy see Garrison, G. P. *Westward Extension*. New York, 1906. (*American Nation*, vol. 17.) chapters 2, 6-10, 13-15. Reeves, J. S. *American Diplomacy*. Baltimore, 1907. 58-162. Reeves, J. S. *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo*, in *American Historical Review* 10 (1904-1905):309-324.

whether Mexico would receive the proposed commissioner.⁴ These days and these events furnish the background for the secret despatch to Larkin, which was written on October 17, 1845.

This setting for the Larkin despatch has never been sufficiently emphasized, and as a result the importance of the orders to the Monterey consulate has not been duly appreciated. With regard to Polk's policy toward California, the Slidell mission and the secret despatch to Larkin represent two component units. These two units are so interrelated and interdependent that neither can be clearly understood nor duly appreciated without the other.

It is now known that Polk planned from the beginning of his administration to acquire California for the United States. To Slidell was assigned definitely the task of acquiring California, or at least a part of it, by purchase from Mexico. But it has been pointed out recently that Slidell's interpretation of his instructions, which interpretation was tacitly accepted by Polk, would have made it possible for Mexico to settle the whole dispute with the United States by conceding nothing more than the Rio Grande boundary for Texas. This is taken to indicate that Polk was not determined to acquire California by "unscrupulous aggression."⁵

⁴ Definite assurance that Mexico would receive a commissioner arrived in Washington on Nov. 6th. Parrott himself arrived on the 9th, and the instructions to Slidell were dated the 10th.—Garrison, *Westward Extension*, 207-213. Buchanan's *Works*, vol. 6, contains letters from Buchanan to Consul John Black and Slidell. Reeves, *American Diplomacy*, 269-274. Schouler, James. *Historical Briefs*. New York, 1896. pp. 138-159.

⁵ Garrison, *Westward Extension*, 225-233. The publication of much of the Buchanan-Slidell correspondence in Buchanan's *Works*, vol. 6, makes it possible to criticise the defense of Polk in Garrison's *Westward Extension*. In the latter work, p. 217, the reference to the two prime objects of the Slidell mission,—“to counteract foreign influences adverse to the interests of the United States, and to restore the old, peaceful relations with Mexico”—is incorrect. A careful reading of the letter cited, to Slidell, Dec. 17, 1845 (see Buchanan's *Works*, vol. 6, p. 345), makes it plain that “the two first objects” of Slidell were not the above, but to acquire either the Rio Grande boundary or the one farther west including the whole of New Mexico. This understanding was clear between Slidell and Buchanan and thus was more than “tacitly agreed to” by Polk through his Secretary of State. Thus Polk, to be sure, “had not determined to insist positively on having California,” because that province might yet be acquired through the Larkin intrigue, or if that failed, through continued pressure upon Mexico that would at last compel her to engage in war. See Garrison, *Westward Extension*, p. 226.

This argument would carry conviction more readily if Polk had not been otherwise occupied. But his policy for the acquisition of California did not depend alone upon the purchase of that province by John Slidell. At the same time that the President was planning the Slidell mission, he wrote the confidential despatch to Larkin and sent two copies of it by separate conveyances, so that it might be sure to reach its destination.⁶ The war prospect had apparently failed for the time being; the Slidell mission might not accomplish the purchase of California from Mexico; but there was still one method left for acquiring the coveted country. That was the Texas method. The continued emigration from the United States to California made this plan very safe, provided no European nation should seize the country in the meantime. Hence the consul at Monterey was instructed to warn the Californians continually against foreign dominion, and to prepare their minds for independence from Mexico and for subsequent union with the United States. This is the significance of the Larkin despatch in its connection with the administration policy at the time of the Slidell mission in the fall of 1845. It is necessary to record further that Larkin was to exercise his influence secretly, without assuming any other than his consular character. In this latter capacity he worked under the official *exequatur*, issued by Mexico in good faith, ratifying the request of the consular appointment that Thomas O. Larkin be allowed "fully and peaceably to enjoy and exercise the said office," and that Mexico "afford him all proper countenance and assistance." The official "*cumplase*" (let it be fulfilled), endorsed by Mexico on the reverse side of the consular appointment, reads with a touch of pathos in connection with the secret instructions of October 17, 1845.

When the secret despatch reached Larkin on April 17, 1846, and he began to carry out the instructions contained in it, the aspect of the controversy with Mexico had greatly changed. On March 15, 1846, after months of delay and uncertainty, Mexico had absolutely refused to receive Slidell, and on April 25th,

⁶ Indeed, Gillespie, who first delivered a copy to Larkin, traveled part of the way across Mexico in company with Parrott, Slidell's secretary of legation. Reeves, *American Diplomacy*, 282.

eight days after Larkin received the despatch, hostilities began on the Rio Grande.⁷

Of course, it would take weeks for the definite news of war to reach California. Meanwhile Larkin must obey orders. To make clear the conditions under which he worked, it is necessary to recall some events prior to April 17, 1846.

The original of the despatch of October 17, 1845, was sent in the care of Commodore Robert F. Stockton, on board the United States frigate *Congress*, which sailed, via Cape Horn and Honolulu, and did not arrive in Monterey until July 15, 1846. The copy of the despatch first received by Larkin was brought by Lieutenant Archibald H. Gillespie of the marine corps. He memorized the despatch and thus passed overland through Mexico in safety. From Mazatlan he sailed, via Honolulu, for Monterey on the U. S. S. *Cyane*. On April 17, 1846, he arrived at his destination and delivered to Thomas O. Larkin a copy of the despatch, which he had written from memory.⁸

At this time, the conditions in California for carrying out the secret instructions and conciliating the Californians were not altogether favorable. In the preceding month had occurred the rupture between Frémont and the authorities, and there was still much talk of an American uprising. Rumors of an impending war between the United States and Mexico had long been about and they soon began to increase.

There were a few conditions more favorable. Larkin was still on terms of friendship with many of the local officials. The policy of conciliating the Californians was entirely in accord with his former disposition and policy. He felt at the time that the English and French consuls were not exerting any particular influence in favor of their respective governments. There were some prominent Americans and Californians in various parts

⁷ Historians, even the most recent ones, differ on the date of the opening of hostilities. April 23, 24, and 25 are the various dates given. April 25 is correct. See U. S. 30th Cong. 1st Sess. House Ex. Docs., vol. 7, no. 60, pp. 141, 292-294.

⁸ Larkin to Buchanan, June 1, 1846. See also endorsement at end of Gillespie's copy of the secret despatch of Oct. 17, 1845, in the Larkin papers. Also, *Frémont California Claims*, 12-13, 30-33. *Frémont Claims, House Report on*, 3-4. *Frémont Court Martial*, 372-374.

of the country upon whom he believed he could count at the time or later in carrying out the proposed plan. Finally, almost everyone in California expected some kind of a change to come very soon in the political status of the country. On the day of receiving the secret despatch, Larkin addressed James Buchanan, Secretary of State, accepting the new commission. He entered at once upon his new duties, although he worked entirely in his consular capacity. The only practical difference in his status was that he now received the ample remuneration which he had repeatedly requested of the department.

For the first few days after April 17th, Larkin was busied in writing despatches to the State Department and making provision for the journey of Gillespie northward. The latter was desirous of reaching Captain Frémont as soon as possible, and Larkin furnished him with letters of introduction to various influential persons requesting them to provide him with all needful supplies and help him in every possible way.*

Meanwhile, on April 22nd, the U. S. S. *Portsmouth* arrived from Mazatlan, having been despatched by Commodore Sloat in response to Larkin's appeal at the time of the Hawk's Peak affair. The news brought by this vessel made war seem very near. When the *Portsmouth* left Mazatlan, on May 1st or 2nd, the Mexican officials had left that place for the interior, leaving behind them a rumor that the American squadron would probably blockade the port the next day. This was taken by the Americans to mean that the Mexican officials probably had news of war. On April 23rd, Larkin addressed Gillespie at Yerba Buena as follows: "Captain Montgomery (of the *Portsmouth*) is of the opinion that Commodore Sloat may by the next Mail (six or eight days) have a declaration on the part of the United States against Mexico, in which case we shall see him in a few days to take the Country."

The imminence of war and the feeling between the Californians and Americans must have made Larkin feel that the prospects were not favorable for a protracted campaign of conciliation. Indeed, he apparently waited four or five days to see whether Commodore Sloat would not arrive and end the long

* Larkin correspondence, April 17-23, 1846.

suspense by taking formal possession of the country in the name of the United States. But Sloat did not come.

Therefore, on April 27, 1846, two days after hostilities had actually begun on the Rio Grande, Larkin definitely opened the campaign planned at Washington more than six months before, when the war prospect seemed dim; the plan which, if the Slidell purchase failed, was to secure California by the method that had proved so eminently successful in the case of Texas.

Larkin's first move was to address letters, on April 27th, to three prominent men; for the northern part of California he wrote to Jacob P. Leese, at Sonoma; for the southern part he addressed Abel Stearns of Los Angeles, and John Warner of San Diego.¹⁰ They were all naturalized Mexican citizens and, with the possible exception of Warner, had held office under the California government. But they were natives of the United States, and Larkin believed that loyalty to their mother country and to their material interests would outweigh any obligations to an adopted government.¹¹ His letter, a copy of which was addressed to each of the above men, refers definitely to the prospect of war and yet opens the way for the campaign of peaceable acquisition if war should not come. The major part of the letter, partly summarized, partly in quotation, follows:

According to the latest newspaper advices, Slidell's ministry has been refused by Mexico. Great political disaffection has been caused in Mexico by the struggle between Herrera and Paredes. When the *Portsmouth* left Mazatlan [April 1st or 2nd] the Mexican commander general there had left for the interior after publishing a proclamation "informing the Inhabitants that the Com. [Sloat] would on the morrow declare the port in a state of blockade." However, Sloat had no definite news of war, although he was expecting it. "No two contingent Nations can continue long as M. and the U. S. have been of late, war or better terms is the only alternative,—should the former now be the case, I believe that the stars shine over California before the 4th. of July blessing those who see it and their posterity after them." Even if peace should continue, and friendship be established between Mexico and the United States, the

¹⁰ These letters have formerly been quoted under the date of April 17, 1846. See Bancroft, *Hist. of Cal.*, 5:63. Indeed, there are several transcripts in the Academy of Pacific Coast History bearing this date. But see the original draft, April 27, 1846, and the replies of Stearns and Warner, dated May 14 and June 16, 1846, respectively. Moreover, the letter in question contained the news brought by the U. S. S. *Portsmouth*, which did not arrive until April 22nd.

¹¹ For short biographical sketches of Leese, Stearns, and Warner, see Bancroft, *Hist. of Cal.*, 4:710-711, 5:732-733, 5:767-768.

change in California may be deferred but cannot be prevented. I am partial to the Californians and hope to see them profit by the change.

Only better government by Mexico in California can keep the people here loyal to the former. They already begin to look abroad for help; "some look to England, some to the U. S., and a few to France, the last is a '*dernier resort*.' " But those who look to Europe know nothing of the heavy taxes and impositions suffered by European colonists. Therefore the Californians, as lovers of freedom and independence, should look only to the United States.

Moreover, Mr. Polk has reiterated the Monroe doctrine and will make it good. "The day that the European Colonists by purchase, or the European Soldier by war, places his foot on California soil, that day shall we see the hardy sons of the west come to the rescue!"

"I have thus given my opinion on the state of affairs in California, to you as a friend and countryman of mine, and as a friend of C.; as in saying I care not who hears you read the letter, I must insist on its not going out of your hand, or of a copy being taken by any one; you will oblige me by carefully reading this letter, and with the same care giving me an answer. . . . I must ask of you if you will inform me by a safe conveyance from time to time of any wish on the part of the Gov't or people about to change or better their condition; should circumstances require it, I shall visit the north [south] this summer."

Thus did Larkin launch the administration campaign for the benevolent assimilation of California. The copies of the above letter sent to Stearns, Leese, and Warner brought varied results. Leese replied briefly, after much delay, that his opinion about matters coincided with that of M. G. Vallejo. This probably meant that he was favorable to the United States. The letter to Warner found him away from home, and he did not return until June 13th. On the 16th, he answered that there was a growing feeling that separation from Mexico must come; all would be glad to be under the protection of the United States if war broke out; otherwise, many preferred England; Warner himself felt that only the United States could hold California permanently.¹²

The letter to Stearns at Los Angeles was answered promptly and fully on May 14th, and he is the only one of the three who entered to any considerable degree into Larkin's campaign on behalf of the United States. His letters to Larkin were full and probably indicated quite truly the feeling in the south. He said that people were looking more and more for a change, and the sentiment for independence was stronger in the south than in the north. However, some were in favor of an English protectorate. One question, he said, that some people wanted an-

¹² Leese to Larkin, June 11, 1846. Warner to Larkin, June 13, 1846.

swered, was whether the United States would give immediate and permanent protection to California in the case of a declaration in favor of union with the former country.

In May, Larkin appointed Stearns his confidential correspondent in the south, which position the latter accepted. Stearns's opinion about sentiment in the southern part of California may be summed up as follows: Business men and government officials, for the most part, would favor any change that would secure a stable and permanent government to California.¹³

The matter of foreign influence was brought up by Stearns's reply to Larkin's letter of April 27th. In that letter the writer stated that English agents had offered officially the protection of their government to the Californians. Larkin seems to have doubted this report from the first, but wrote to Stearns at once, requesting definite and minute details about the story. These details Stearns failed to give. Meanwhile James A. Forbes, the British vice-consul, visited Monterey. He discredited entirely the story told by Stearns and others. He represented definitely to Larkin that his instructions from England were to the effect that his government would not interfere in California affairs, but would view with dissatisfaction the transfer of the country to any other nation. From a personal and business viewpoint, Forbes claimed to prefer that California should be transferred to the United States. Larkin weighed these statements and others which came to him indirectly from Forbes, and believed them. His judgment in the matter is the more reliable because he had formerly been so suspicious of England. Indeed, it may be said that from the time he entered upon his confidential agency Larkin's belief in the machinations of European governments in California was distinctly on the wane. This is significant since one of his prime duties was to thwart the influence of France and England in the department.¹⁴

Recent investigation in the Public Records Office in London

¹³ For the relations between Larkin and Stearns see April 27, May 21, 23, 24, 26, 1846, Larkin to Stearns. May 14, June 12, 27, 1846, Stearns to Larkin.

¹⁴ See references cited under note 13 above. Also, Larkin to Buchanan, April 17, 1846. Same, April 18, 1846. Same, June 1, 1846. Larkin to Gillespie, June 1, 1846.

has shown that Forbes represented his instructions to Larkin exactly as they were. Therefore, since Larkin believed him fully at the time, it may be said that Larkin knew at the time of his confidential agency that Great Britain had no designs on California. Indeed, this knowledge accounts largely for his assurance that ultimately his agency would be successful and California would be acquired peaceably by the United States.¹⁵

Aside from correspondence with prominent Americans, Larkin used a somewhat novel method for influencing the Californians and discovering their attitude toward the United States. He drew up a document purporting to express his own private views as to the future of California, the best course for the people to pursue, and the probable attitude of the United States in the matter. In reality, the paper set forth *in extenso* the administration plan for the acquisition of California, and was largely quoted verbatim from Buchanan's secret despatch. The statement that the United States would not allow European dominion on the Pacific coast, but would herself receive California if the latter should assert and maintain her independence of Mexico,—these important points were prominently developed in the skillful language of the astute Secretary of State. Larkin himself, by a few changes and additions, showed a most conciliatory and friendly attitude toward the Californians, and expressed his belief that if the United States should at some time possess the country, "those who had toiled and spent their best days in advancing the welfare of this department should reap their reward."

In a note to the above Larkin says: "The foregoing document was written by me . . . and translated into Spanish for the purpose of showing it from time to time to different Californians in authority; no copy has been given, nor signature attached to the one shown; I have in every case of any person reading it given it as my opinion of the state of affairs in this country."¹⁶

¹⁵ Adams, E. D., *English Interest in the Annexation of California*, in *American Historical Review*, 14 (1909):744-763.

¹⁶ For copies of the document, entitled *Address to the Californians*, see Larkin, *Official Correspondence*, part 2, p. 152. Also a copy, wrongly dated, in Sawyer, *Documents*, 18ff. To the Sawyer copy is appended the note quoted in the text above.

It is apparent that Larkin also sent a copy of the above document to Abel Stearns, at Los Angeles, to be used in a similarly discreet manner.¹⁷

It is difficult to tell just what influence Larkin had at the time or might have had later with the departmental officials. In a despatch of July 20, 1846, to the Secretary of State he told of an interview with the commander-general, José Castro, in which the latter outlined his policy for declaring California independent in 1847 or 1848, as soon as there should be enough foreigners in the country to insure the success of the movement. Of course, no stress can be laid on such a statement by Castro, for ideas and plans were unstable at the time, and there was much idle speculation. But the condition of California had come to such a pass that her leading men were considering the possibilities of a change of government, and it is significant that Larkin could use the document mentioned above and discuss with leading officials the probable separation from Mexico.¹⁸

¹⁷ Larkin to Stearns, May 24, 1846.

¹⁸ Revere, in his *Tour of Duty*, tells of an alleged discussion in Monterey with regard to the separation of California from Mexico. The discussion is said to have taken place at or about the time of the military junta held in Monterey in late March and early April, 1846. It is said that Vallejo at this time made his famous speech in favor of placing California under the protection of the United States.

H. H. Bancroft (*Hist. of Cal.*, 5:62) holds that such a discussion was never held. The evidence is with Bancroft, save that perhaps there was more or less casual and unofficial discussion at the time, which later, by repetition, grew into a formal discussion at an official meeting.

Larkin's reports to the State Department at the time indicate a general discussion by leading men of the prospective changes in California. However, there is no hint of any important or formal consideration of the subject. Moreover, this was only a few days after the affair at Hawk's Peak, and Larkin was sending very full reports of political conditions to the Secretary of State. It is impossible to think that he would have overlooked a meeting and discussion of such tremendous import. This seems especially obvious since it was claimed, after Larkin's death, that he was present and recorded Vallejo's speech. This claim can receive no allowance in the light of Larkin's contemporaneous correspondence.—See Larkin to Buchanan, March 27, 1846. Same, April 2, 1846. Larkin to U. S. Minister of Legation, Mexico, April 3, 1846.

Alvarado, J. B. *Historia de California*. MS. 1876. vol. 5, pp. 133-146. Dwinelle, J. W. *Address*. Society of California Pioneers. 16th Anniversary. San Francisco, 1866. pp. 22-27. *History of Marin County, California*. San Francisco, 1880. pp. 64-65. *History of Mendocino County, California*. San Francisco, 1880. pp. 64-65. Lancey, T. C. *Cruise of the Dale*. In *San José Pioneer*, February 1, 1879-April 2, 1881. Revere, J. W. *A Tour of Duty in California*. New York, 1849. pp. 24-32. Sherman, E. A.

Brief reference must be made to the proposed "*Consejo General de Pueblos Unidos de Alta California*." This council was called for June 15, 1846, and was to be held at Santa Barbara. It was proposed in May by the regular Departmental Assembly, then in session at Los Angeles. The distribution of representatives was evidently arranged to favor the southern faction, which was headed by Governor Pio Pico. The council never met, owing largely to the opposition of the northern faction, led by José Castro. But so long as it seemed probable that it would be held, Larkin planned to be present at Santa Barbara at the time, ostensibly on business. He also arranged, by timely correspondence, to have several prominent men, who were favorable to the American cause, present as delegates. He probably had no real hope of obtaining a definite declaration for the United States at the council, but with Stearns, Bandini, Leese, and Vallejo as voting members of the body, nothing very inimical to the United States would be likely to occur.¹⁹

Larkin had one definite plan for the council. This plan he talked over with some of the Californians. It was that the delegates should petition Mexico for substantial aid in establishing a stable government in California, at the same time advising the sale of the department to another government if the requested help could not be given. Larkin was sure that Mexico could not give the required aid, and the above petition would show to the interested parties and to the world the necessity for a change of government.

In reporting this proposal to the State Department on June 1, 1846, Larkin wrote: "The opinion I advanced appears to those concerned so unpatriotic, that they cannot listen to it at the first hearing and view, yet time and their situation may produce the same opinion among themselves, as a constant revulsion of feeling is the order of the day."

Thus, from Larkin's statement it is evident that, while some of the leading Californians were considering the possibility of

Life of Sloat. Oakland, 1902. pp. 56-57. Shuck, O. T. *Representative Men of the Pacific.* San Francisco, 1870. pp. 229-230. Swasey, W. F. *Statement.* MS. pp. 8-9. Vallejo M. G. *Recuerdos históricos y personales.* MS. vol. 5, pp. 61-92.

¹⁹ Larkin to Stearns, May 21, 1846. Larkin to Leese, May 21, 1846.

a change of allegiance, most of them were not yet ready to plan definitely for a separation from their country.

But Larkin was in no great hurry. He was willing to let time have its course in the shaping of events. If war came, the United States would seize California. If the war cloud passed, the inevitable would yet occur. With European influence waning and American immigration waxing, a few years at most would end triumphantly his occupation as confidential agent.

On June 1, 1846, he addressed James Buchanan, Secretary of State, and told of the general situation in California and of his plans and activities as confidential agent. He also narrated in detail what he had heard of Gillespie's journey toward the Oregon, of how he finally overtook Frémont and they returned to the Sacramento. "Frémont now starts for the States," adds Larkin, little knowing of the developments soon to occur.

In early June, the confidential agent prepared a long report to the State Department, in response to the request contained in the secret despatch. This report constituted a most valuable compendium on the past history and contemporaneous conditions in California. It was especially full in its information on the political conditions and military strength of the department. The compiler evidently understood what would be valuable to his government in carrying out its imperial plans. With regard to influencing the Californians in favor of the United States, Larkin comes to the point abruptly in this despatch: "It would be sound policy to pension some of those high in office and influence, or give them a sinecure; they would thus gently and quietly carry many of their countrymen along with them."²⁰

²⁰ This report, completed about June 15, 1846, contained much detailed information, as follows: Description of California; towns and other settlements; history of the missions, their wealth and secularization; various classes of inhabitants in California; industries and division of labor; naturalization; land grants; Indian depredations; amount of immigration in various years; emigrant routes; Sutter's establishment; supplies which emigrants should have on leaving Independence, Missouri; their settlement and possible vocations in California; climate of California. History of California politics; revolutions; potential military strength; contemporaneous politics; instability of the government; attitude of various classes toward a change; a proposal for securing a favorable attitude from local officials toward the United States; agriculture, mines, whalers; the great future in store for the region around San Francisco Bay; education in California. Commerce: How the coastwise trade is carried on;

The above report was completed about the middle of June. It had been almost two months since the *Portsmouth* arrived from Mazatlan with news that Commodore Sloat might come in a few days to take California. War rumors were growing fainter. The confidential agent was becoming interested in his campaign and was catching the spirit of the policy outlined at Washington in the fall of 1845.

Such was the status of affairs and such were Larkin's plans, when a rumor reached Monterey that some Americans on the Sacramento River had seized some horses that were being brought by Lieutenant Francisco Arce from Sonoma to Santa Clara for the use of Commander-General José Castro. As the rumor grew to certainty Larkin wrote, on June 14th, to José and Manuel Castro that, as consul of the United States, he would gladly do anything in his power to aid in the recovery of the horses, if citizens of the United States were implicated in the theft. Larkin at first thought that the affair was merely a local clash between the Californians and a band of marauding settlers. But as further news came of the seizure of the horses on the 10th, and the subsequent capture of Sonoma on the 14th, he realized the true significance of the affair. The vice-consul, William A. Leidesdorff, and Captain John B. Montgomery of the *Portsmouth* sent to him from San Francisco news of the trend of events as the Bear Flag revolt progressed. This news Larkin forwarded to the State Department, together with copies of various proclamations issued by the respective parties to the conflict.²¹

Since Frémont and Gillespie had just returned from the north, the Californians felt that they were implicated, directly or indirectly, in the uprising. Some even believed that Larkin

nationalities engaged in it; customs duties, regulations, etc.; division of the revenue by civil and military departments of the government. Coins, weights and measures in California. List of the leading men at the principal settlements, with information about the more prominent ones. Tabulated details about commerce, 1839-1845. Public debts of California. Tabulated information about army, custom house, and civil officers of California, giving names, nativity, by whom appointed, monthly pay, arrears due on salaries Jan. 1, 1846.—As to the date of above report, see Larkin to Buchanan, June 15, 1846.

²¹ For this and the following paragraphs on Larkin's relation to the Bear Flag revolt see the Larkin correspondence, June 14 to July 4, 1846.

had guilty knowledge of the affair, and a rumor to that effect grew until he believed he might be seized as a prisoner of war.

In these circumstances, the conciliatory efforts of the confidential agent ended abruptly and unexpectedly. Open rebellion by Americans on the Sacramento was not conducive to a campaign of conciliation. Larkin was now on the defensive. Governor Pio Pico frantically wrote to the consul: "You have not been known to make any arrangement that might make the invaders recede from their abominable designs and prevent the misfortunes which they can cause by the means of hostile provocation." Larkin could only answer that he was unable, single-handed, to put down a rebellion with which the whole military force of California seemed unable to cope. Whatever service he could render, had been offered to José and Manuel Castro, but it had not been accepted. Such was the consul's somewhat unsatisfactory reply.²²

As the days passed, he realized that his former prophecies of a rupture between Californians and Americans were being suddenly and unexpectedly fulfilled. On June 18th, he wrote to the Department of State that if the rumors of the outbreak in the north were true, his expectations for 1847 or 1848 had simply been anticipated by a year or two. A few days later, in a letter to the United States consul in Honolulu, he exclaimed: "The great ball has been rolled, what can stop it!"²³

Commodore Sloat arrived within a few days after this to act in the name and by the authority of the United States government.

What historical estimate then, should be placed on the confidential agency of Thomas O. Larkin? It was part and parcel of a comprehensive scheme, planned at Washington in the fall of 1845, the object of which was to secure California at all hazards. The war prospect then seemed uncertain. The Slidell purchase might not succeed. There was left the Texas method. This method was therefore to be tried—but with one innovation; in California, it was to be carried on from the beginning with the active, though secret, connivance of the United States

²² Pico to Larkin, June 29, 1846. Reply, Larkin to Pico, July 5, 1846.

²³ Larkin to the "U. S. commissioner and U. S. consul, Sandwich Islands," July 4, 1846.

Government. Thomas O. Larkin, about six months later, set the proposed campaign in motion in California. He showed considerable ability in getting the matter well under way in a short time, and his plans and actions in so doing were no meaner than the instructions under which he worked. In less than two months his efforts were abruptly ended by the Bear Flag outbreak, which was speedily followed by Commodore Sloat's occupation.

CHAPTER VIII.

Larkin's Activities in the Conquest of California.

July, 1846-January, 1847.

The latter half of June, 1846, constituted an interlude between the active campaign of the confidential agent and the conquest by Admiral Sloat.

The news of the American uprising on the Sacramento reached Monterey in definite form about June 14th. This put an end to Larkin's campaign of conciliation and threw him on the defensive, as was noted in the preceding chapter. On June 19th, arrived the U. S. S. *Cyane* from Mazatlan with renewed tidings that Sloat would probably come in a few days to take the country. Thus the Bear Flag revolt and the imminence of war were enough to occupy Larkin's attention until the actual coming of Sloat on July 2nd.

The *Cyane* brought to Larkin a letter from Sloat, dated May 18, 1846, the day after the commodore had received news of the hostilities of April 25th on the Rio Grande. In this letter Sloat said: "From information I have received from Metamoras, it appears certain that hostilities have commenced on the north bank of the Rio Grande . . . It is my intention to visit your place immediately, and from the instructions I have received from my government, I am led to hope that you will be prepared to put me in possession of the necessary information, and to consult and advise with me on the course of operations I may be disposed to make on the coast of California."

The government had no doubt expected Sloat to get much valuable information from Larkin about California. But from the above letter the consul judged that some late instructions to him from the government had miscarried. During the latter part of June, therefore, he wrote several letters to people in or

about San Francisco and New Helvetia, asking them to assist any overland couriers who might be coming to him from the States.¹

The couriers did not come and Sloat himself did not arrive for almost two weeks. When he did arrive, on July 2nd, he brought news of the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, the taking of Metamoras, and the blockade of Vera Cruz by the United States squadron in the gulf.²

Although Sloat arrived in Monterey on July 2nd, he did not raise the American flag until the 7th. The delay was without doubt chiefly due to the attitude of Larkin. As has been noted in the previous chapter, the confidential agent had no scruples about getting California away from Mexico. He felt that the revolutions and the constant political turmoil in California, and the continued inability of Mexico to aid in establishing a stable government in the northern department, had proven conclusively that a change of regime should come. But his old desire, that the change should come with the acquiescence and choice of the Californians, never left him. Indeed, during his campaign as confidential agent, it had become a passion with him. Then the Bear Flag, to his chagrin and dismay, had seemed to blast all his hopes. Over and over again does Larkin mention in his correspondence the exasperation of the Californians at the apparent connection of Frémont and Gillespie with the American uprising on the Sacramento. When Commodore Sloat arrived Larkin saw one more chance of securing California to the United States by the definite choice of the Californians. No information had yet come of a declaration of war by either Mexico or the United

¹ Larkin to Montgomery, June 19, 20, 22, 1846. Larkin to Leidesdorff, June 22, 1846.

² Sloat to Larkin, May 18, 1846. Log of the U. S. S. *Savannah*, June 5, 7, 1846, in Lancey, *Cruise of the Dale*, 78-79. Lancey reprints this log from Dunbar, *Romance of the Age*, 38-39. This log is inaccurate in details. See also Sloat's report, U. S. 30th Cong., 2nd Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 1, part 2, pp. 2-5. Same, Sen. Doc. No. 1.

Bancroft, *Hist. of Cal.*, 5:224, note 1, raises the question of the date of Sloat's arrival in Monterey Bay. Copies of the logs of the U. S. ships *Cyane*, *Levant*, and *Savannah*, obtained from the Navy Department, all state that the *Savannah* stood into Monterey Bay on the afternoon of July 2nd. The log quoted in Lancey, *Cruise of the Dale*, *San José Pioneer*, and in Dunbar, *Romance of the Age*, is therefore incorrect.

States, and even the news of hostilities was unofficial.³ Larkin therefore favored delay and advocated the plan outlined in his own words as follows:

"Without official information, either by the commodore or myself, I hesitated to take possession of California by force of arms, and preferred that the civil governor and military commandant of California should place their country under the protection of our government for the time being or a certain limited time as could be agreed upon. This subject had been canvassed repeatedly by myself and certain persons in command on shore, and partially agreed upon should emergencies create the necessity. Some of the town authorities and a few principal citizens of Mexico in Monterey, while the *Savannah* lay at anchor, favored the plan and proposed to send expresses to General José Castro, who was encamped at the Mission de Santa Clara, seventy-six miles north, and Governor Pio Pico. . . . There was during this period a rising of foreigners, most of them unknown in the settlements, at the Sacramento River and jurisdiction of Sonoma. These circumstances urged many Californians, in July, 1846, to view with high favor the plan of coming under a peaceable protection of a foreign government. There was a fair prospect of the commandante general and some or all the authorities of Monterey coming into the arrangement; but [it] required at least ten days to come to [a] conclusion."⁴

Thus did Larkin make another conciliatory effort. If the desired result could have been attained it would have been most advantageous. Then the American flag would have been raised as a protection for the Californians against the party on the Sacramento, and not as a mere continuation of that independent seizure of the country. If the plan failed, Larkin hoped that the delay might at least bring official news of a declaration of war.

But Sloat had already delayed too long. He was under orders to occupy California whenever he should know of "actual hostilities" between the United States and Mexico.⁵ Larkin states also several times that Sloat had some fears that the British admiral, Seymour, would arrive in H. M. S. *Collingwood* and hoist the English flag. So when Larkin entered Commodore

³ But Sloat should have seized California at once. He had been ordered to do so "in the event of actual hostilities" between Mexico and the United States. See despatch of Aug. 13, 1846, George Bancroft, Sec. of Navy, to Sloat, quoted in U. S. 30th Cong. 1st Sess. Sen. Report No. 75, p. 71. This despatch controverts the statement of Sherman in defense of Sloat to the effect that the commodore did not receive the despatches sent to him by the Navy Department after the one of June 24, 1845. See Sherman, *Life of Sloat*, p. 62.

⁴ Memorandum by Larkin, quoted in Sawyer, *Documents*, MS., 84-87. Bancroft, *Hist. of Cal.*, 5:228, note 6. See also Larkin to Buchanan, July 30, 1846.

⁵ See note 3, above.

Sloat's cabin on the *Savannah* on the morning of July 6th, he was met with the following exclamation from the commodore: "We must take the place! I shall be blamed in Washington for doing too little or too much! I prefer the latter."⁶

So the scale was turned in favor of immediate occupation. Larkin spent almost the whole day with Sloat, planning details and drawing up letters and a general proclamation. The latter was addressed to the people of California and shows plainly Larkin's knowledge of local affairs and his continued attitude of friendliness toward the Californians.

During the early weeks of the occupation under Sloat and Stockton, Larkin was used very much in writing letters and providing couriers for the transmission of them. He was especially valuable as a middleman in dealing with the people of California, with whom he was so well acquainted and, for the

⁶ The fear of Admiral Seymour and the *Collingwood* was potent at the time but recent investigations have proven that this fear also was groundless. See extract from Lord Alcester's letter, *Century Magazine*, 18 (1890):792-794. Same, *Nation*, 48 (1889):140-142. See also p. 78.

Bancroft, *Hist. of Cal.*, 5:228-229, states that the *Portsmouth's* launch arrived from San Francisco on the afternoon of July 5th, with news that Frémont had openly joined the Bear Flag movement. This news, thinks Bancroft, was the final consideration that led Sloat to delay no longer in raising the United States flag at Monterey. But the logs of the *Cyane*, *Levant*, and *Savannah* all state that the launch arrived on July 6th. This is also according to Larkin's statement mentioned by Bancroft (5:228, note 6). Therefore Larkin was not mistaken, as Bancroft says, and the facts of the case are as follows:

Larkin wanted to postpone the raising of the flag (for reasons stated in the text above), but, as he states (Sawyer, *Documents*, p. 86): "Commodore Sloat became more and more anxious to land and hoist our flag." On the morning of the 6th Sloat called Larkin on board and declared: "We must take the place," etc. The *Portsmouth's* launch did not arrive until 5:30 p.m. after everything was decided. Thus Larkin's statement of the case must be accepted.

Gillespie testified (in *Frémont Cal. Claims*, p. 32) that Sloat claimed later that he seized the country on the strength of Frémont's operations in the north. If Gillespie's testimony is correct it is possible that Sloat decided to use this as an excuse when he began to fear that his action had been premature. However, in the light of the above, it is apparent that, as Larkin states, Sloat "became more and more anxious to land," and finally decided to do so contrary to Larkin's desire and before hearing that Frémont had openly joined the Bear Flag. This is quite at variance with the generally accepted view, but is undoubtedly correct. See *Frémont California Claims*, 30-45. Logs of *Cyane*, *Levant*, and *Savannah*, MS., July 6, 1846. Larkin to Buchanan, July 18, 1846. Sawyer, *Documents*, 84-87.

most part, on terms of friendship. All of his labors during this period were characterized by his old desire to conciliate the people of California and make them well disposed toward American rule.⁷

On July 7th, he addressed William B. Ide, at Sonoma, telling him that Sloat had raised the American flag at Monterey, and advising him and the Bear Flag party to desist from further operations against the Californians.⁸ The alcalde at Monterey, glad to end the Bear Flag movement by any means, gave a letter to Larkin's courier that would aid him in passing through the country.⁹

At the same time, Larkin made unsuccessful efforts to secure an interview between José Castro and Commodore Sloat. The Californian leaders were now aroused and determined at least to vindicate their honor as loyal Mexican soldiers. Larkin had a friendly interchange of letters with José Castro and Juan B. Alvarado, but they did not agree to an interview with Sloat. They were outraged by the Bear Flag affair and Castro declared that the United States naval forces had seized California only on the "conjecture of considering themselves at war."¹⁰

At this time, Larkin also interested himself in securing the release of the prisoners taken at Sonoma by the Bear Flag party in June. He was not directly responsible for their release, but made effective efforts to hasten it.¹¹

Larkin's fear of those who tended to deal harshly and unfairly with the Californians is plainly shown in a letter of July 17th to Commodore Stockton, who arrived in the *Congress* on the 15th. In this letter, Larkin states his fear that Gillespie, who was about to visit Stockton, "has imbibed local views respecting

⁷ For the general historical background of this period see Bancroft, *Hist. of Cal.*, 5: chapters 9-15. Hittell, *Hist. of Cal.*, 2:ch. 8. Royce, *California*, ch. 3.

⁸ Larkin did not know that Frémont had by this time assumed command of the Bear Flag movement. Bancroft, *Hist. of Cal.*, 5:179ff.

⁹ Manuel Diaz "*a las Autoridades y Particulares del Transito*," July 7, 1846.

¹⁰ Larkin to Castro, July 8, 1846. Larkin to Alvarado, July 8, 1846. Castro to Larkin, July 9, 1846. Alvarado to Larkin, July 9, 1846.

¹¹ Prudon to Larkin, July 23, 1846. Vallejo to Larkin, July 23, 1846. Larkin to Prudon, July 29, 1846. Larkin to Vallejo, July 29, 1846.

this country and its people." Larkin urges the need of broad views in dealing with the Californians and hopes Stockton may change Gillespie's attitude in some measure.

Commodore Stockton succeeded to the supreme command in California on July 29, 1846, the day on which Sloat sailed for home in the *Levant*. Frémont, commissioned as major by Stockton, and placed at the head of the newly organized battalion, had already sailed on the *Cyane* for San Diego, with orders to subdue the country there and march to Los Angeles. On August 1st, Larkin left Monterey on the *Congress* with Commodore Stockton. Their destination was Los Angeles and Larkin was taken along because of the further important services he might render in dealing with the Californians.

The details of the conquest in the south would fill a volume and only Larkin's labors will be noted here.

It is evident that before the arrival at San Pedro, the nearest port to Los Angeles, Larkin had persuaded Stockton to let him try once more to get the Californians to raise the American flag by their own choice. Governor Pio Pico, the Departmental Assembly, and Commander General José Castro were all in or near Los Angeles at this time.

The *Congress* arrived at San Pedro on August 6th, and on that day Larkin addressed a long letter to Abel Stearns, who had been his confidential correspondent during the previous weeks of the confidential agency. Larkin now urged Stearns to use his influence with the California officials to get them to declare at once their independence of Mexico and to accept the protection of the United States flag.¹² He showed the uselessness of trying to oppose the forces under Stockton and Frémont. Moreover, he argued that if the rumored hostilities on the Rio Grande did not continue and there was no declaration of war, then the protection of the American flag was essential to protect California from a continuation of the Bear Flag revolt. He further urged Stearns to appear with other leading citizens before Stockton at San Pedro to arrange matters as suggested.¹³

¹² Stearns was also a subprefect of the California government at this time. Bancroft, *Hist. of Cal.*, 5:625.

¹³ Larkin to Stearns, Aug. 6, 1846. Same, Aug. 7, 1846.

. Such was Larkin's last, desperate attempt to get the Californians to accept the United States flag by their own choice. But the days for conciliation were past and the attempt failed. To be sure, some commissioners from Castro appeared next day, probably as a result of Larkin's letter to Stearns. But they had no authority apparently, save to parley for a stay of hostilities pending further negotiations. Stockton was naturally fearful of much delay and replied by letter to Castro: "I cannot, therefore, check my operations, to negotiate on any other principle than that California will declare her independence under the protection of the flag of the United States. If, therefore, you will agree to hoist the American flag in California, I will stop my forces, and negotiate the treaty."

These words were written by Stockton on August 7th, and Castro's reply was dated the 9th. The commander-general of the Mexican forces had now determined to retreat toward Mexico and, although he kept this purpose from the American commander, he peremptorily refused to consider the treacherous proposition of forsaking his country's flag.¹⁴

On the 11th, Larkin was sent under a flag of truce to carry Stockton's reply to Castro. But the general had already left the vicinity of the capital, which was so devoid of defenders that on the 12th, Larkin, with two associates, took possession of the government house and prepared it for the use of Stockton who arrived with his forces the next day.¹⁵

Larkin's long cherished method for securing California by the consent of the Californians had failed. The war method had won. But however much Larkin regretted the failure of his own plan, he had no desire for his country to relinquish California. From the beginning of the conquest by Sloat he declared that the American flag ought never to be lowered in California. When he thought of the possibility that by treaty at the end of the war California might be returned to Mexico,

¹⁴ See report of Stockton to Sec. of Navy, in U. S. 30th Cong. 2nd Sess. House Ex. Doc. No. 1, part 2, p. 36ff. For correspondence between Castro and Stockton see U. S. 30th Cong. 1st Sess. House Ex. Doc. No. 70, p. 38ff.

¹⁵ Stockton to Larkin, Aug. 11, 1846. Larkin to Buchanan, Aug. 23, 1846.

he addressed the Department of State as follows: "Should by government policy in any treaty with Mexico (which policy I presume will not be thought of) California be given up, it would be an advantageous method to hold it a sufficient time for some thousands of emigrants to obtain a footing here, and for Commodore Stockton to arrange a government, and the result would be that the Mexican flag would never wave one hundred days again in California."¹⁶

Larkin had spent too much time and thought on the acquisition of California, for him now to think for a moment of Mexico again acquiring the country. It was during his stay in Los Angeles at this time that Larkin learned the particulars of the Macnamara plan for Irish colonization in California, which project had been favored by Governor Pico and the Departmental Assembly. This scheme seems to have reawakened in Larkin a belief that England had designs on California. He reported the matter fully to the State Department and said: "This . . . shews a new feature on the part of England to colonize California and is but a change of plans."¹⁷

Larkin returned to Monterey in the *Congress*, arriving on September 15th. His active coöperation in the conquest was now practically ended but he had been appointed navy-agent by Stockton during the stay in Los Angeles.¹⁸

His activities as navy-agent do not enter into this account. His capture by the Californians merits only brief notice.

Larkin's family was in San Francisco and, in November, 1846, he, hearing that one of his daughters was ill, started overland from Monterey to the bay city. Meanwhile, the uprising of the Californians in the south had taken place and Manuel Castro had undertaken to muster recruits in the country north of San Luis Obispo. Larkin started from Monterey on Sunday, November 15th, and stopped that night at the ranch of Joaquin Gomez, about twenty-five miles northeast of Monterey. It was not known at the time that any of the Californian forces were in the vicinity, but during the night a detachment of them under José Antonio

¹⁶ Larkin to Buchanan, Aug. 22, 1846.

¹⁷ Larkin to Buchanan, Aug. 22 and 23, 1846.

¹⁸ See p. 7.

Chavez seized Larkin and carried him a prisoner to the nearby camp of Commander Manuel Castro. The next day, Larkin was an unwilling witness to the battle of Natividad, and, after that, he was taken to Santa Barbara and later to Los Angeles.

The details of his captivity are unimportant, but it may be mentioned that the Californians prized highly such a famous prisoner and he was granted every comfort and respect. After the defeat of the Californians in the south, Larkin was released by General José M. Flores on January 9, 1847.¹⁹

Larkin's subsequent activities as navy-agent and naval store-keeper are of no great historical interest and do not come within the scope of this monograph. The real object of Larkin's confidential agency was defeated, as has been noted, in the middle of June, 1846, by the Bear Flag uprising. His regular activities as consul ended during the same month when he extended aid for the last time to a destitute American seaman. His commissions as consul and confidential agent were not formally cancelled until May 30, 1848, and his per-diem allowance in the latter capacity continued until that date. But his only official activity in either capacity during 1847 and 1848 consisted of an occasional report to the State Department on political and general conditions in California.²⁰

Larkin's part in the conquest of California has never been duly appreciated. His silent, toilsome efforts were easily forgotten when they were superseded by the more spectacular methods of the Bear Flag and the conquest.

Larkin was the pioneer of the acquisition. As early as 1844, his jealousy of the influence of England and France in California began. It is now known that those nations had no serious designs on the country, but it was believed in California at the time that they did have such designs and Larkin took no chances in the matter. He communicated his fears constantly to the United States Government and, no doubt, influenced the officials at Washington in that respect.

¹⁹ Larkin to Rachael Larkin, Nov. 25, Dec. 14, 1846, Jan. 11, 1847. Rachael Larkin to Larkin, Dec. 14, 1846. The most complete account is Larkin, *Journal of Captivity*.

²⁰ See p. 15.

For a time he favored the tripartite convention plan of Tyler and Webster, whereby the United States should grant England the line of the Columbia River in Oregon in exchange for some degrees of California to be purchased by England from Mexico. This plan was the fairest toward Mexico of any considered by the United States government, with the possible exception of the purchase proposed by Slidell.

Larkin had no scruples about getting California away from Mexico, feeling that the latter government had given ample evidence of her inability to maintain a stable government in the department.

When appointed to the confidential agency, Larkin undertook his task with vigor, and with fair prospects of success. But his efforts were abruptly terminated by the Bear Flag and the conquest. The former movement was lamentable in his sight; not because it would rob Mexico of a splendid province, but because it was an outrage upon the inhabitants of California. At the last moment, Larkin regretted the war and the conquest, which before had undoubtedly seemed desirable to him. His change of attitude seems due to the subsidence of his fears of European aggression in California, and his belief that, as confidential agent, he could soon get the Californians to raise the United States flag of their own choice. But when the conquest came, Larkin coöperated cheerfully and effectively with the military authorities of the United States.

In his attitude toward the acquisition Larkin displayed a persistent desire for friendliness and fair play toward the Californians. In private life, as consul, as secret agent of his government, from first to last he was mindful of their rights and their sensibilities. Larkin should be held by Americans as representing their best conception of fair play toward the inhabitants of California; by the descendants of the old Californians of Spanish blood, he should be remembered as the most constant friend of their people.

His attitude toward the Californians, from the beginning of his consulate to the close of the American conquest, is well epitomized in the following extract from a letter written by him to the State Department just before he sailed for Los Angeles

with Commodore Stockton, to occupy the southern part of the country: "The undersigned . . . shall proceed south in the *Congress*, and endeavor to be of service to the Commander in Chief . . . and will at all times endeavor to keep in view, the welfare and prosperity of the Californians, to calm their agitation and interest their feelings favorably to the new Government, . . . not under the idea that their good will or services will aid in establishing our flag, which is not the case, but from motives of friendship and humanity to the former owners of the country."²¹

²¹ Larkin to Buchanan, July 30, 1846. But it has been already noted that Larkin did make one subsequent plan to secure the coöperation of the Californians in changing to the United States flag.

APPENDIX 1.

Biographical Sketch of Thomas O. Larkin.

Thomas Oliver Larkin was born September 16, 1802, at Charlestown, Massachusetts.

According to the following statement furnished by his only surviving son, Alfred O. Larkin, living (1908) in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the family has a long history in America.

"His [Thomas O. Larkin's] ancestors lived and died in Charlestown. . . . Edward, the first, was admitted freeman of that settlement in 1638. Ebenezer, grandfather of Thomas Oliver Larkin, had his home destroyed, burnt to the ground by hot shot from the fleet of Lord Howe during the bombardment of that town, while the battle of Bunker Hill was progressing. Ebenezer and his brothers participated in the battle. Through the female line, Thomas Oliver Larkin was descended from Richard Warren, who emigrated to America in the *Mayflower*, 1620."

Thomas O. Larkin's father died in 1808, when the former was only six years of age. In 1813 his mother removed to Lynn, Massachusetts, where she died in 1818.

In 1817 Larkin, a boy of fifteen years, went to Boston to learn the art of bookbinding. He found this to be, as he declared, "a poor business," and on October 17, 1821, he decided to leave Boston. Three days later he sailed for Wilmington, North Carolina, on the schooner *Maria*.

He spent the years from 1821 to 1830 in the south, with the exception of a few months in 1824 during which he visited various cities in New York as well as his friends and relatives in Massachusetts and at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

In the south, he was engaged in various business enterprises. For a time, he was clerk in a store and later established a small mercantile business in partnership with a friend who subsequently proved false to him. He spent some time in Wilmington, Fayetteville, and Moore's Creek. He visited the Bermuda Isl-

ands in 1822, and traveled in South Carolina for his health in 1825.

In the latter year he opened a store in Duplin County, North Carolina, and later in the same year he lost his brother William, who had accompanied him from Boston after his visit home in 1824. The death of this brother was a severe blow to Larkin, and his diary shows plainly how hard it was for him to rally from it. In the following words, he gives expression to his feelings: "Thought I had had distress before . . . drank its very dregs at this time [and] found I had never tasted it before. Peace be to the soul and respect forever for thy memory, my Brother."

In 1826, he became a justice of the peace in Duplin County and later in the same year he received a post-office commission.

His final enterprise in North Carolina was in the sawmill business, but in this he was unfortunate and lost most of his former earnings. At the same time his health, which for some years had been poor, began to fail more rapidly. In 1830, therefore, he said farewell to the south and returned to Massachusetts.

The years spent in North Carolina were undoubtedly the years in which Larkin learned the great lessons practiced in his after life. He succeeded measurably well in most of his enterprises and manifested the persistent energy necessary to success. Yet he suffered enough reverses to test his spirit and teach him the lessons of rigorous economy. A natural interest in feminine charms is evident in his diary of these years, and occasional references to dancing, to smoking and to wines are in striking contrast with the extremely temperate habits of his later years.

To recruit his health and fortunes, Larkin next turned toward the Pacific Coast. He sailed from Boston September 5, 1831, on the *Newcastle*, Captain Stephen Hersey. This vessel touched at the Sandwich Islands in the following February, reached San Francisco early in April, and arrived at Monterey on the 13th of the same month, 1832. At Monterey, Larkin found his half-brother, John B. R. Cooper, who had come to the coast as a sea-captain some years before but was now settled at Monterey, engaged in trade. For a time Larkin served as a clerk for Cooper, but soon established a business of his own. He opened

a small store for the sale of general merchandise, produce and liquors. He built the first double-gearred flour mill in that part of the country, making the models for it himself. He hired foreigners to make shingles and shape lumber, and soon began the erection, by contract, of wharves and various buildings. At the same time, he began to build up a trade with the Sandwich Islands and Mexico in lumber, flour, potatoes, soap, beaver and sea-otter skins, and horses. Success came to him in his business ventures and he began at once to accumulate the wealth that later amounted to a large fortune.

During his voyage from Boston on the *Newcastle*, Larkin had become acquainted with Rachel Hobson Holmes, who was en route to the Pacific Coast to join her husband, John A. C. Holmes, a sea-captain. Upon arriving at Monterey she learned that he had shortly before sailed for Lima, and after about three months of waiting there came to her the news of his death by fever on shipboard.

The young woman remained at the home of Captain Cooper, in Monterey, while awaiting passage back to Boston. Meanwhile she and Mr. Larkin became better acquainted and they, at length, decided to unite their fortunes. They did not wish to accept the Catholic faith and so could not get the church to solemnize their marriage. The ceremony was therefore performed, June 10, 1833, on board the American bark *Volunteer* at Santa Barbara, by John C. Jones, United States consul at Oahu, who was owner and supercargo of the vessel.

One account, probably reliable, states that a few years later, when Mrs. Larkin was seriously ill, she was baptized into the Catholic church at the earnest solicitation of friends. At the same time, it is stated, she and Mr. Larkin went through the Catholic marriage ceremony in order to be sure that their children would be legal heirs. If the statement of their remarriage is true, Larkin was probably baptized into the Catholic church also. It was at any rate a formal matter, for after the American conquest Mr. and Mrs. Larkin were affiliated with the Episcopal church.

The children of Mr. and Mrs. Larkin, with the years of birth and death, are as follows: Thomas O., 1834-1898; Frederick H.,

1836-1869; Francis R., 1840-1874; Caroline, 1842-1891; Adelaide, 1843-1846; Alfred Otis, 1847- (living 1909).

All of these children, deceased, excepting Adelaide, are buried in the family lot in Laurel Hill Cemetery, San Francisco. Adelaide, who died in 1846, during the conquest, was buried in the Mission Dolores cemetery. One account mentions also an infant son who died at Monterey in 1836.

Caroline Larkin married Sampson Tams, from whom H. H. Bancroft obtained the Larkin manuscripts. Mr. Tams is living (1909) in San Francisco.

Writing from New York in 1850 Larkin refers to his children as follows: "the education of the *first children* born there [in California] of United States' parents—rather of United States' mother—causes us to remain here for the present."

Of course, men from the United States had had children by Californian wives, but the above claim of Larkin was no doubt true, at least with reference to his older children.

In 1847, he joined Robert Semple in the project of building up a city at Carquines Straits to rival Yerba Buena as the metropolis of the bay region. It was at first planned to call the new town Francisca, but this was soon changed to Benicia on account of the official adoption of the name *San Francisco* by the older and more successful of the rivals.

Larkin was a highly respected member of the California Constitutional Convention of 1849, although the records show that he indulged in speech-making very sparingly as compared with some of his associates. Aside from the Spanish members, Larkin had lived in California longer than anyone in the convention except Abel Stearns of Los Angeles. The latter had lived in the country for twenty years, about two and a half years longer than Larkin.

After 1849 Larkin retired from active public life and devoted himself largely to his extensive business interests. After the American conquest his landed interests especially were a source of ever increasing wealth to him. His estate at the time of his death was probably worth about \$200,000, and much of the property appreciated greatly in value within a few years thereafter.

Larkin and family spent the years from 1850 to 1853 in the east. They visited relatives and friends in New York and Massachusetts, and Larkin acquired some valuable property in the city of York. In 1853 they returned to California and settled in San Francisco.

Larkin was an active and honored member of the Society of California Pioneers, and was president of the society from 1856 to 1857.

He suffered an acute attack of typhoid fever upon returning from a business trip to Colusa in the fall of 1858, and, after an illness of one week, he died on the evening of October 27th, at the age of fifty-six years.

He was buried at Lone Mountain (now called Laurel Hill) Cemetery, where a stone monument now marks his grave.

Mrs. Larkin survived her husband some years, dying in San Francisco, October 20, 1873.

The following extract is taken from the resolutions passed by the Society of California Pioneers at the time of Larkin's death: "he was ever ready to respond to the demands of his Country, in the contest which ended in making California part and parcel of our National domain, . . . the destitute and needy, in him found a true friend to supply their wants, and alleviate their misfortunes; the Officers of our Army and Navy, . . . found in him a brave and efficient ally, in taking possession of the country, and to his personal influence, it may be justly said, that much is due, toward obtaining the good will and acquiescence of the Native population, in changing their flag and their nationality; and from the period of the acquisition of California by the United States, up to the present time, his energies and his efforts were wholly devoted to the advancement of the State, and to the development of all her resources."

The above statements have been taken from the resolutions because they epitomize well the work of Larkin in and for California and are clearly within the bounds of historical truth.

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PORTRAITS OF LARKIN.

In Colton, Day, and Soulé, as cited above; and in *Century magazine*, vol. 20 (1891), p. 580. Mrs. Day also gives a portrait of Mrs. Larkin.

Note.—The following data on personal appearance are taken from Larkin's original passport to California, issued under the seal of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and signed Sept. 2, 1831, by Levi Lincoln, governor, and Edward D. Bangs, secretary: "Thomas Oliver Larkin, Age 29 years. Height, 5 ft. 7½ in. Complexion, dark. Eyes, dark. Hair, black."—See Savage, *Documents*, MSS., 2:2.

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APPENDIX 2.

Consular Representatives of France, Great Britain, and Spain in California during the Larkin Consulate.

Louis Gasquet was appointed Consul of France at Monterey in 1843. He was to serve *ad interim* until M. Barrier should arrive to occupy the post permanently. The latter never came to California, and Gasquet did not arrive until March, 1845.

Gasquet's salary was probably about \$4000 although he had little to do. In July, 1846, he protested against the placing of one of the United States sentinels near his house. Alvarado, in his history, states that Gasquet gave the Californians the information that led to Larkin's capture in November, 1846.

James Alexander Forbes, a native of Scotland, came to California in 1830 or 1831. For some years he was engaged in trade and farming, and was appointed British vice-consul at Monterey in 1842. He entered formally upon the duties of his office in 1843, although he did not reside at Monterey. During the important period of Larkin's consulate Forbes resided at San Francisco, where he had charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment after the death of Wm. G. Rae in 1845.

Forbes on one occasion forwarded to his government a proposition of some Californians for placing California under the protection of Great Britain. This was one of several similar propositions from her agents which Great Britain rejected decisively. Forbes was informed that Great Britain had no desire to interfere in California politics, but that she would look with great disfavor upon such interference by any other power. These instructions were frankly rehearsed by Forbes to Larkin in May, 1846.

Although Forbes and Larkin had some disagreements they were generally on very good terms and there were many exchanges of official courtesies between them.

APPENDIX 3.

The Affair at Hawk's Peak.

Judging from the whole correspondence of Larkin bearing upon the affair at Hawk's Peak, it is evident that he recognized the danger of reckless acts on the part of Frémont. Moreover, he offered advice to the captain only with some trepidation and with great caution, as one would do when dealing with a man very sensitive from personal or official pride. The consul felt that the cause for the trouble was that Frémont had brought his force so near to Monterey. Larkin says nothing about this being a breach of the January agreement, indeed he declares absolutely the contrary. His entire correspondence indicates that the extreme outbreak on the part of the Californians was unwarranted.

The writer has examined carefully the sources on the Hawk's Peak affair¹ and feels that Frémont should bear a part but not all of the blame for that unfortunate breach of relations.

It is a very important fact, heretofore almost entirely overlooked, that while in Monterey in January, Larkin arranged with Frémont to send supplies by ship to Santa Barbara for him and his party.²

The authorities at Monterey undoubtedly understood that Frémont's camp for the winter was to be in the San Joaquin Valley or at some such considerable distance away from the settlements.

Frémont left Monterey³ in January to renew his search for

¹ See Appendix 5.

² Thompson to Larkin, March 20, 1846: "Captain Fremont has not yet arrived, look for him daily but without any late advice." Larkin to Buchanan, April 2, 1846: "'tis supposed he [Frémont] has gone to Santa Barbara where an American Vessel was sent by the undersigned in February with funds and provisions for his use." Thus Frémont, when he visited Larkin in January, provided for a journey to Santa Barbara.

³ Benton, *Letter*, in Niles' *National Register*, 71 (1846-1847):173. Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, 2:688. Cutts, *Conquest of California*, 144. *Frémont Court-Martial*, 372. U. S. 29th Cong., 2nd Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 4, pp. 50-51. Same, Sen. Doc. No. 1. Alvarado, *Historia de California*, MS., 5:160-161.

the larger part of his company whom he had failed to find earlier. He undoubtedly expected to find them near Tulare Lake, or further north searching for him. The writer believes that Frémont expected, after finding them, to move southward in the San Joaquin Valley, cross the mountains to Santa Barbara for the supplies sent there by Larkin, and then establish his headquarters in the San Joaquin Valley, perhaps exploring the interior to the southward, until the season would permit the journey to Oregon.

But he met his men, looking for him, near San José. Thence it was easier to cross the Santa Cruz Mountains southward and follow the Salinas Valley in the journey to Santa Barbara for the supplies.⁴ The party could thus purchase meat and provisions, en route from the *ranchos*, and still keep at a respectable distance from the towns. That it was Frémont's policy to keep his force away from the towns is shown clearly by his letter to Larkin quoted on page 53 above. It is probable that he never thought of it as being an infraction of the January agreement for him to come temporarily within a reasonable distance of the settlements while securing his supplies.

On the other hand, it may be that in passing within twenty or twenty-five miles of Monterey, Frémont abused the hospitality of the California officials. Perhaps they were continually nervous because, since September, 1845, they had been disobeying the strictest orders from Mexico against allowing any more Americans to enter California; their natural hospitality and their lack of military strength had made them desperately lax. Perhaps too they were aroused by colored reports of a disagreement between Frémont and some of the inhabitants after he left Monterey in January.⁵

⁴ Schafer, *The Pacific Slope and Alaska*, suggests that Frémont planned the journey up the Salinas Valley toward Santa Barbara in order to survey a practicable route for a coast-line railroad. This view is plausible. Larkin certainly expected Frémont to visit Monterey again, for he wrote to the Secretary of State, March 27, 1846, that when the captain left Monterey in January he "returned to his camp, it being well known in Monterey, that he was to return when he collected his men."

⁵ See p. 57. Bancroft, *Hist. of Cal.*, 5:8-9, develops also the trouble about one of Frémont's horses which was claimed by a Californian. A full discussion of the incident is not in place here, but an examination

It may be that any of the above causes, or all of them combined, roused the officials against Frémont. Their great fault, however, was their imperious and bellicose manner, and the insincerity apparent in their orders of March 5th to the captain.

These orders were evidently written to be read in Mexico, whither copies were sent. Juan B. Alvarado, himself a strong California partisan, who was present at the interview between Frémont and the authorities in January, wrote later in his history,⁶ that José Castro received special orders, after the interview in January, to drive Frémont out, and that in ordering him away on March 5th, Castro⁷ "set forth the reasons that compelled him to revoke the permission that he had granted."

This is just what José Castro should have done, but did not do. Neither did he give the reason, so strongly urged by recent historians, that Frémont had forfeited his privileges by not remaining in the San Joaquin Valley. The order from José Castro ran: "At seven o'clock this morning the Commander-General was given to understand that you and the party under your command have entered the towns of this Department, and such being prohibited by our laws, I find myself obligated to advertise you, that on receipt of this, you will immediately retire beyond the limits of this same Department, such being the orders of the Supreme Government, and the subscriber is obligated to see them complied with." At the same time Prefect Manuel Castro wrote to Frémont as follows: "In consequence this Prefecture now orders, that you will immediately, on receipt of this, without any pretext, return with your people out of the limits of this Territory; if not, this Office will take the necessary measures to cause respect to this determination."

As suggested above, these orders were evidently written to satisfy the authorities in Mexico. But, to Frémont, they must have seemed written all over with insincerity and bad faith.

In the first place, he must have noted the pretended surprise

of the documents cited by Bancroft will show to anyone that his presentation develops only one side of an affair in which there was undoubtedly blame on both sides.

⁶ Alvarado, *Historia de California*, MS., 5:161.

⁷ José Castro to Frémont, March 5, 1846. Manuel Castro to Frémont, March 5, 1846.

expressed by the authorities at hearing of his presence. But he, with part or all of his men, had been in the country between Monterey and San José, a distance of about seventy-five miles, ever since he visited Monterey in January. For about a week they had encamped much nearer to San José than they had now approached to Monterey.

Moreover, the presence of Frémont and scores of other Americans who had entered California during the latter part of 1845, had been from the first contrary to law, save as the local authorities granted special permission.

It is almost certain that José Castro had not received special orders from Mexico since his understanding with Frémont in January. However, it is plain that Castro, or some of his friends, such as Alvarado, did make such a claim in order to justify the action against Frémont.

If José Castro had recently received special orders, or if, on the contrary, his case against Frémont was that the captain had broken the agreement of January by coming near to the settlements, why did he not explain himself in his orders?

And, finally, if he dared not explain himself and admit the understanding of January, because a copy of his order must be sent to Mexico, should he not have been less peremptory and bellicose in tone?

These considerations do not excuse Frémont for coming with his force so near to the settlements—if it was definitely understood that he should not do so—nor for his bravado in defying the local authorities from the crest of Gavilan. But they constitute the extenuating circumstances of the case, heretofore obscured by an apparent personal animus against Frémont or a lack of critical insight into the documents relating to the affair.⁸

⁸ Schafer, *The Pacific Slope and Alaska*, 237-264, gives the fairest account yet published concerning Frémont's activities in California at this

APPENDIX 4.

The Secret Despatch of October 17, 1845.

NOTE.—The original of the following despatch is in the Larkin papers in the possession of the University of California, as is also the copy delivered to Larkin by Lieutenant Archibald H. Gillespie. The latter memorized the despatch and destroyed his copy before passing overland through Mexico. He then wrote it from memory and delivered a copy to Larkin, which differs from the original only in a few unimportant variations of wording.

The following is the text of the original despatch, signed by James Buchanan, and sent to Larkin, via Cape Horn and Honolulu, on the U. S. S. *Congress*.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, Oct. 17th, 1845.

THOMAS O. LARKIN, Esqre.,
Consul of the United States
at Monterey, California.

SIR,

I feel much indebted to you for the information which you have communicated to the Department from time to time in relation to California. The future destiny of that Country is a subject of anxious solicitude for the Government and people of the United States. The interests of our Commerce and our Whale fisheries on the Pacific Ocean, demand that you should exert the greatest vigilance in discovering and defeating any attempts which may be made by Foreign Governments to acquire a control over that Country. In the contest between Mexico and California we can take no part, unless the former should commence hostilities against the United States; but should California assert and maintain her independence, we shall render her all the kind offices in our power as a Sister Republic. This Government has no ambitious aspirations to gratify and no desire to extend our Federal system over more Territory than we already possess, unless by the free and spontaneous wish of the Independent people of adjoining Territories. The exercise of compulsion or improper influence to accomplish such a result would

be repugnant both to the policy and principles of this Government. But whilst these are the sentiments of the President, he could not view with indifference the transfer of California to Great Britain or any other European Power. The system of colonization by foreign Monarchies on the North American continent must and will be resisted by the United States. It could result in nothing but evil to the Colonists under their dominion who desire to secure for themselves the blessings of liberty by means of Republican Institutions; whilst it would be highly prejudicial to the best interests of the United States. Nor would it in the end benefit such foreign Monarchies. On the contrary, even Great Britain by the acquisition of California would sow the seeds of future War and disaster for herself; because there is no political truth more certain than that this fine Province could not long be held in vassalage by any European Power. The emigration to it of people from the United States would soon render this impossible.

I am induced to make these remarks in consequence of the information communicated to this Department in your Despatch of the 10th of July last. From this it appears that Mr. Rea, the Agent of the British Hudson Bay Company furnished the Californians with arms and money in October and November last, to enable them to expel the Mexicans from the Country: and you state that this policy has been reversed and now no doubt exists there, but that the Mexican troops about to invade the Province have been sent for this purpose at the instigation of the British Government: and that "it is rumored that two English Houses in Mexico have become bound to the new General to accept his drafts for funds to pay his troops for eighteen months." Connected with these circumstances, the appearance of a British Vice Consul and a French Consul in California, at the present crisis, without any apparent Commercial business, is well calculated to produce the impression, that their respective Governments entertain designs on that Country which must necessarily be hostile to its interests. On all proper occasions, you should not fail prudently to warn the Government and people of California of the danger of such an interference to their peace and prosperity,—to inspire them with a jealousy of

European dominion and to arouse in their bosoms that love of liberty and independence so natural to the American Continent. Whilst I repeat that this Government does not, under existing circumstances, intend to interfere between Mexico and California, they would vigorously interpose to prevent the latter from becoming a British or French Colony. In this they might surely expect the aid of the Californians themselves.

Whilst the President will make no effort and use no influence to induce California to become one of the free and independent States of this Union, yet if the People should desire to unite their destiny with ours, they would be received as brethren, whenever this can be done, without affording Mexico just cause of complaint. Their true policy, for the present, in regard to this question, is to let events take their course, unless an attempt should be made to transfer them, without their consent, either to Great Britain or France. This they ought to resist by all the means in their power as ruinous to their best interests and destructive of their freedom and independence.

I am rejoiced to learn that "our Countrymen continue to receive every assurance of safety and protection from the present Government" of California, and that they manifest so much confidence in you as Consul of the United States. You may assure them of the cordial sympathy and friendship of the President, and that their conduct is appreciated by him as it deserves.

In addition to your Consular functions, the President has thought proper to appoint you a confidential agent in California; and you may consider the present Despatch as your authority for acting in this character. The confidence which he reposes in your patriotism and discretion is evinced by conferring upon you this delicate and important trust. You will take care not to awaken the jealousy of the French and English agents there by assuming any other than your Consular character. Lieutenant Archibald H. Gillespie of the Marine Corps will immediately proceed to Monterey and will probably reach you before this Despatch. He is a Gentleman in whom the President reposes entire confidence. He has seen these instructions and will co-operate as a confidential agent with you, in carrying them into execution.

You will not fail by every safe opportunity to keep the Department advised of the progress of events in California, and the disposition of the authorities and people towards the United States and other Governments. We should, also, be pleased to learn what is the aggregate population of that Province, and the force it can bring into the field:—what is the proportion of Mexican, American, British and French Citizens, and the feelings of each class towards the United States;—the names and character of the principal persons in the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Departments of the Government, and of other distinguished and influential Citizens;—its financial system and resources, the amount and nature of its commerce with Foreign Nations, its productions which might with advantage be imported into the United States, and the productions of the United States which might with advantage be received in exchange.

It would, also, be interesting to the Department to learn in which part of California the principal American settlements exist,—the rate at which the number of Settlers have been and still are increasing,—from what portions of the Union they come and by what routes they arrive in the Country.

These specifications are not intended to limit your enquiries. On the contrary it is expected that you will collect and communicate to the Department all the information respecting California which may be useful or important to the United States.

Your compensation will be at the rate of Six dollars per day from the time of the arrival of this Despatch or of Lieutenant Gillespie at Monterey. You will also be allowed your necessary travelling and other expenses incurred in accomplishing the objects of your appointment; but you will be careful to keep an accurate account of these expenditures and procure vouchers for them in all cases where this is practicable without interfering with the successful performance of your duties. For these expenses and your per diem allowance, you are authorized to draw from time to time on the Department.

I am, Sir, Respectfully
Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) JAMES BUCHANAN.

APPENDIX 5.

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Official correspondence as United States Consul and Navy-Agent. 1 vol. 511 pages. Contains copies, made contemporaneously by Larkin or his chief clerk, of the letters written by Larkin. The book is made up of two parts; of these the first contains 596 letters, dated from April, 1844, to January, 1850, from the consul to the California authorities, United States officials and citizens in California and elsewhere, but not including his reports to the State Department. The second part contains 76 official consular despatches written by Larkin to the State Department from 1844 to 1848; 16 despatches by Larkin as navy-agent to the Navy Department; and 46 important letters and proclamations concerning the affair at Hawk's Peak, the Bear Flag rebellion, and the seizure of California by Commodore Sloat.

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agent with the general policy of the government at the time. Later investigations in the archives of the State Department have supplemented Bancroft's work in this regard.

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ONE OF THE DONNER PARTY

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. TEGGART

Curator of the Academy of Pacific Coast History

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA
JULY, 1910

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Tues. 9th { Mr Murphy here this
 morning pikes child all but dead,
 Mitt at Murphys not able to get out
 of bed Keyburg never gets up says
 he is not able. John went down to
 day to bury Mrs Eddy & child heard
 nothing from Graves for 2 or 3 days
 Mrs Murphy just now going to
 Graves from morning wind S.E. for
 hard last night begins to thaw in
 the Sun. Beautiful morning
 Wedn. 10th { Wind. W. froze hard last
 night, to day thawing in
 the Sun. Mitt Elliot died last night
 at Murphys Shortly about 9 o'clock
 P.M. Mr Reid went there this morning
 to see after his effects, of Denton trying
 to borrow meat for Graves had none
 to give they have nothing but hides
 all are entirely out of meat but a
 little we have out ^{hides} are nearly all
 eat up but with Gods help spring
 will soon smile upon us.
 Thurs 11th { Fine morning wind W.
 froze hard last night some
 clouds by day in the E. looks like thaw
 John Denton here last night very
 delicate John & Mrs Reid went to Graves
 this morning

PAGE FROM THE DIARY OF PATRICK BREEN.
 From the Manuscript in the Bancroft Collection.

Size of the original, 3 3/4 x 6 in.

paragraphs of minor importance"; in addition to these omissions there are many variations from the original text in the printed form. The diary as published in the *California Star* has been frequently reprinted, notably in Edwin Bryant's *What I saw in California*, New York, 1848, and C. F. McGlashan's *History of the Donner Party*, Truckee, 1879. It is, consequently, for the first time that the complete diary, exactly as written, is now published.

F. J. T.

DIARY OF PATRICK BREEN.

Friday Nov. 20th 1846 Came to this place on the 31st of 1846
last month that it snowed we went on to the pass the snow so ^{Nov.}
deep we were unable to find the road, when within 3 miles of
the summit then turned back to this shanty on the Lake,
Stanton came one day after we arrived here we again took
our teams & waggons & made another unsuccessful attempt to
cross in company with Stanton we returned to the shanty it
continueing to snow all the time we were here we now have
killed most part of our cattle having to stay here untill next
spring & live on poor beef without bread or salt [2] it snowed
during the space of eight days with little intermission, after our
arrival here, the remainder of time up to this day was clear &
pleasant frezeing at night the snow nearly gone from the valleys.

Sat. 21st Fine morning wind N:W 22 of our com-
pany are about starting across the mountain this moring in-
cluding Stanton & his indians, some clouds flying thawed
to day wnd E.

Sunday 22nd Froze hard last night this a fine clear
morning, wind E.S.E no account from those on the
mountains.

Monday 23rd Same weather wind W the expe-
dition across the mountains returned after an unsuccsful at-
tempt. [3]

Tuesday 24th Fine in the morning towards eveng cloudy
& windy wind W looks like snow freezeing hard.

Wendsday 25th Wind about W N W Cloudy looks
like the eve of a snow storm our mountainers intend trying
to cross the mountain tomorrow if fair froze hard last night.

Thurssday the 26th Began to snow yesterday in the even-
ing now rains or sleet the mountaniers dont start to day
the wind about W. wet & muddy.

Friday 27 Continues to snow, the ground not covered,
wind W dull prospect for crossing the mountains.

Nov.

W

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Dec.

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last night wind S.E deep snow the people not stirring 1846
 round much hard work to wood sufficient to keep us warm
 & cook our beef. Dec.

Wedns. 9th Commenced snowing about 11 o clock wind
 N:W snows fast took in Spitzer yesterday so weak that
 he cannot rise without help caused by starvation all in good
 health some having scant supply of beef Stanton trying to
 make a raise of some for his Indians & self not likely to get
 much. [7]

Thursd. 10th Snowed fast all night with heavy squalls of
 wind Continues still to snow the sun peeping through the
 clouds once in about three hours very difficult to get wood
 to day now about 2 o clock looks likely to continue snowing
 dont know the debth of the snow may be 7 feet.

Friday 11th Snowing a little wind W sun vissible
 at times not freezeing.

Satd. 12th Continues to snow wind W weather mild
 freezeind little.

Sunday 13th Snows faster than any previous day wind
 N:W Stanton & Graves with several others makeing prep-
 erations to cross the mountains on snow shoes, snow 8 feet
 deep on the level dull.

Monday 14 Fine morning sunshine cleared off last
 night about 12 o clock wind E:S:E dont thaw much but
 fair for a continueance of fair weather. [8]

Tuesday 15th Still continues fine wind W: S:W.

Wed'd 16th Fair & pleasant freeze hard last night
 so the company started on snow shoes to cross the mountains
 wind S.E looks pleasant.

Thursd. 17th Pleasant sunshine to day wind about
 S.E Bill Murp returned from the mountain party last even-
 ing Bealis died night before last Milt. & Noah went to
 Donnos 8 days since not returned yet, thinks they got lost in
 the snow. J Denton here to day.

Frid'd. 18 Beautiful day sky clear it would be
 delightful were it not for the snow lying so deep thaws but
 little on the south side of shanty saw no strangers to day
 from any of the shantys. [9]

1846 Satd. 19 Snowd. last night commenced about 11 o'clock.
 Dec. Squalls of wind with snow at intervals this morning thawing
 wind. N by W a little singular for a thaw may continue,
 it continues to snow sun shining cleared off towards evening.

Sund. 20 Night clear froze a little now clear &
 pleasant wind N W thawing a little Mrs Reid here,
 no account of Milt. yet Dutch Charley started for Donoghs
 turned back not able to proceed tough times, but not discour-
 aged our hopes are in God. Amen.

Mond. 21 Milt. got back last night from Donos camp sad
 news. Jake Donno Sam Shoemaker Rinehart, & Smith are dead
 the rest of them in a low situation Snowed all night with a
 strong S-W wind to day cloudy wind continues but not
 snowing, thawing sun shineing dimly in hopes it will
 clear off. [10]

Tuesd. 22nd Snowd. all last night Continued to snow
 all day with some few intermissions had a severe fit of
 the gravel yesterday I am well to day, Praise be to the God of
 Heaven.

Wend. 23rd Snowd. a little last night clear to day &
 thawing a little. Milt took some of his meat to day all
 well at their camp began this day to read the Thirty days
 prayer, may Almighty God grant the request of an unworthy
 sinner that I am. Amen.

Thursd. 24th Rained all night & still continues to rain
 poor prospect for any kind of comfort spiritual or temporal,
 wind S: may God help us to spend the Christmass as we ought
 considering circumstances. [11]

Friday 25th Began to snow yesterday about 12 o'clock
 snowd. all night & snows yet rapidly wind about E by N
 Great difficulty in geting wood John & Edwd. has to get I
 am not able offerd. our prayers to God this Cherimass morn-
 ing the prospect is apalling but hope in God Amen.

Satd. 26th Cleared off in the night to day clear &
 pleasant Snowd. about 20 inches or two feet deep yesterday,
 the old snow was nearly run soft before it began to snow now
 it is all soft the top dry & the under wet wind S. E.

Sund. 27th Continues clear froze hard last night

Snow very deep say 9 feet thawing a little in the sun 1846
 scarce of wood to day chopt. a tree dow it sinks in the snow & Dec.
 is hard to be got. [12]

Monday 28th Snowd. last night cleared off this morn-
 ing snowd. a little now clear & pleasant.

Tuesday 29th Fine clear day froze hard last night.
 Charley sick. Keysburg has Wolfings Rifle gun.

Wedsd. 30th Fine clear morning froze hard last night
 Charley died last night about 10 o clock had with him in
 money \$1.50 two good loking silver watches one razor 3 boxes
 caps Keysburg tok them into his possession Spitzer took
 his coat & waistcoat Keysburg all his other little effects gold
 pin one shirt and tools for shaveing. [13]

Thursday 31st Last of the year, may we with Gods help
 spend the comeing year better than the past which we purpose
 to do if Almighty God will deliver us from our present dredful
 situation which is our prayer if the will of God sees it fting
 for us Amen. morning fair now cloudy wind E by S
 for three days past freezeing hard every night looks like
 another snow storm Snow Storms are dredful to us snow
 very deep crust on the [under?]. [14]

Jany. 1st 1847 We pray the God of mercy to deliver us 1847
 from our present calamity if it be his Holy will Amen. Com- Jan.
 menced. snowing last night does not snow fast wind S:E
 sun peeps out at times provisions geting scant dug up a hide
 from under the snow yesterday for Milt. did not take it yet.

Sat. 2nd Fair & thawey snow got soft wind S-E
 looks thawey froze pretty hard last night.

Sund. 3rd Continues fair in day time freezeing at
 night wind about E Mrs. Reid talks of crossing the moun-
 tains with her children provisions scarce. [15]

Mond. 4th Fine morning looks like spring thawing
 now about 12 o clock wind S:E Mrs. Reid Milt. Virginia
 & Eliza started about 1/2 hour ago with prospect of crossing the
 mountain may God of Mercy help them left ther children
 here Tom's with us Pat with Keysburg & Jas with Graveses's
 folks, it was difficult for Mrs Reid to get away from the children.

Tuesd. 5th Beautiful day thawing some in the sun

1847 wind S-E snow not settling much we are in hopes of
the rainy time ending.

Jan.

Wedn. 6th Fine day clear not a cloud froze very hard
last night wind S:E Eliza came back from the mountain
yesterday evening not able to proceed, to day went to Graves,
the others kept ahead.

Thursd. 7th Continues fine freezing hard at night
very cold this morning wind S.S.E dont think we will
have much more snow snow not thawing much not much
diminished in depth. [16]

Friday 8th Fine morning wind E froze hard last
night very cold this morning Mrs. Reid & company came
back this morning could not find their way on the other side of
the mountain they have nothing but hides to live on
Martha is to stay here Milt. & Eliza going to Donos Mrs.
Reid & the 2 boys going to their own shanty & Virginia pros-
pects dull may God relieve us all from this difficulty if it
is his Holy will Amen.

Satd 9th Continues fine freezing hard at night this
a beautiful morning wind about S.S.E Mrs. Reid here
Virginias toes frozen a little snow settling none to be
perceivd.

Sund. 10 Began to snow last night still continues wind
W N W. [17]

Mond. 11th Still continues to snow fast, looks gloomy
Mrs Reid at Keysburgs Virg. with us wood scarce difficult
to get any more wind W.

Tuesd 12th Snows fast yet new snow about 3 feet
deep wind S:W no sign of clearing off.

Wens. 13th Snowing fast wind N.W snow higher
than the shanty must be 13 feet deep dont know how to get
wood this morning it is dredful to look at.

Thursd. 14th New moon Cleard. off yesterday evening
snowd. a little during first part of night Calm but a little
air from the North very pleasant to day sun shineing
brilliantly renovates our spirits prais be to God, Amen.

Frid. 15th Fine clear day wind N W Mrs. Murphy
blind Lanth. not able to get wood has but one axe betwixt

him & Keysburg, he moved to Murphys yesterday looks 1847
like another storm expecting some account from Siuters Jan.
soon. [18]

Satd. 16th Wind blew hard all night from the W.
abated a little did not freeze much this is clear & pleasant
wind a little S of W no telling what the weather will do.

Sund. 17th Fine morning sun shineing clear wind
S.S.E Eliza came here this morning, sent her back again
to Graves Lanthrom crazy last night so Bill says, Keyburg
sent Bill to get hides off his shanty & carry thim home this
morning, provisions scarce hides are the only article we
depend on, we have a little meat yet, may God send us help.

Mond. 18th Fine day clear & pleasant wind W,
thawing in the sun Mrs. Murphy here to day very hard
to get wood.

Tuesd. 19th Clear & pleasant thawing a little in the
sun wind S.W Peggy & Edward sick last night by eating
some meat that Dolan threw his tobacco on, pretty well to day
(praise God for his blessings,) Lanthrom very low in danger
if relief dont soon come hides are all the go, not much of any
other in camp. [19]

Wed. 20th Fine morning wind N froze hard last
night. Expecting some person across the mountain this week.

Thursd. 21 Fine morning wind W did not freze
quite so hard last night as it has done, John Battice & Denton
came this morning with Eliza she wont eat hides Mrs Reid sent
her back to live or die on them. Milt. got his toes froze
the Donoghs are all well.

Frid. 22nd Began to snow a little after sunrise likely
to snow a good dale wind W came up very suddenly, now
10 oclock.

Satd. 23rd Blew hard & snowd. all night the most
severe storm we experienced this winter wind W sun now
12 oclock peeps out.

Sund. 24th Some cloudy this morning ceased snowing
yesterday about 2 oclock. Wind about S. E all in good
health thanks be to God for his mercies endureth for ever,
heard nothing from Murphys camp since the storm expet to
hear they sufferd some. [20]

1847 Mod 25th Began to snow yesterday evening & still continues wind W.

Jan. Tuesd 26 Cleared up yesterday to day fine & pleasant, wind S. in hopes we are done with snow storms, those that went to Suitors not yet returned provisions getting very scant people getting weak liveing on short allowance of hides.

Weds 27th Began to snow yesterday & still continues to sleet thawing a little wind W Mrs. Keyber here this morning Lewis Suitor she says died three days ago Keyburg sick & Lanthrom lying in bed the whole of his time dont have fire enough to cook their hides. Bill & Sim. Murphy sick.

Thursd. 28th Full moon cleared off last night & froze some to day fine & warm wind S.E looks some like spring weather birds chirping quite lively full moon today

Frid 29th Fine morning began to thaw in the sun early. wind S.W froze hard last night there will be crust soon God send Amen. [21]

Satd. 30th Fine pleasant morning wind W begining to thaw in the sun John & Edwd. went to Graves this morning the Graves seized on Mrs Reids goods untill the would be paid also took the hides that she & family had to live on, she got two peices of hides from there & the ballance the have taken you may know from these proceedings what our fare is in camp there is nothing to be got by hunting yet perhaps there soon will. God send it Amen.

Sund. 31st. The sun dont shine out brilliant this morning froze prtty hard last night wind N.W. Lantron Murph died last night about 1 o clock, Mrs. Reid & John went Graves this morning to look after her goods.

Feb. Mond. February the 1st Froze very hard last night cold to day & cloudy wind N W. sun shines dimly the snow has not settled much John is unwell to day with the help of God & he will be well by night Amen. [22]

Tuesday 2nd Began to snow this morning & continued snow untill night now clear wind during the storm S.

Wend. 3rd Cloudy looks like more snow not cold froze a little last night wind S.S W. it was clear all the night sun shines out at times.

1847 have nothing but hides all are entirely out of meat but a
 Feb. little we have our hides are nearly all eat up but with Gods
 help spring will soon smile upon us.

Thursd 11th Fine morning wind W. froze hard
 last night some clouds lying in the E: looks like thaw John
 Denton here last night very delicate. John & Mrs Reid went
 to Graves this morning. [25]

Frid. 12th A warm thawey morning wind S. E. we
 hope with the assistance of Almighty God to be able to live to
 see the bare surface of the earth once more. O God of Mercy
 grant it if it be thy holy will Amen.

Sat. 13th Fine morning clouded up yesterday evening
 snowd a little & continued cloudy all night, cleared off about
 day light wind about S: W Mrs Reid has headacke the

rest in health.

Sund 14th Fine morning but cold before the sun got up,
 now thawing in the sun wind S E Ellen Graves here
 this morning John Denton not well froze hard last night
 John & Edwd. E burried Milt. this morning in the snow.

Mond. 15. Moring cloudy untill 9 o clock then cleared off
 wam & sunshine wind W. Mrs Graves refusd. to give
 Mrs Reid any hides put Suitors pack hides on her shanty would
 not let her have them says if I say it will thaw it then will not,
 she is a case. [26]

Tuesd. 16th Commenced. to rain yesterday evening
 turned to snow during the night & continud untill after day-
 light this morning it is now sun shine & light showers of
 hail at times wind N.W by W. we all feel very weakly
 to day snow not geting much less in quantity.

Wedsd. 17th Froze hard last night with heavy clouds run-
 ing from the N. W. & light showers of hail at times to day
 same kind of weather wind N. W. very cold & cloudy
 no sign of much thaw.

Thrsd 18th Froze hard last night to day clear &
 wam in the sun cold in the shanty or in the shade wind
 S N all in good health Thanks be to Almighty God Amen.

Frid. 19th Froze hard last night 7 men arrived from
 California yesterday evening with som provisions but left the

greater part on the way to day clear & warm for this region 1847
 some of the men are gone to day to Donnos Camp will start Feb.
 back on Monday. [27]

Saturd. 20th Pleasant weather.

Sund 21st Thawey warm day.

Mond 22nd The Californians started this morning 24 in
 number some in a very weak state fine morning wind
 S. W. for the 3 last days Mrs Keyburg started & left Keys-
 burg here unable to go I burried Pikes child this moring
 in the snow it died 2 days ago, Paddy Reid & Thos. came
 back Messrs[?] Graves & Mutry[?].

Tuesd. 23 Froze hard last night to day fine & thawey
 has the appearance of spring all but the deep snow wind
 S:S.E. shot Towser to day & dressed his flesh Mrs Graves
 came here this morning to borrow meat dog or ox they think I
 have meat to spare but I know to the contrary they have plenty
 hides I live principally on the same.

Wend. 24th Froze hard last night to day cloudy
 looks like a storm wind blows hard from the W. Com-
 menced thawing there has not any more returned from those
 who started to cross the mts. [28]

Thursd. 25th Froze hard last night fine & sunshiny
 to day wind W. Mrs Murphy says the wolves are about
 to dig up the dead bodies at her shanty, the nights are too cold
 to watch them, we hear them howl.

Frid 26th Froze hard last night today clear & warm
 Wind S: E: blowing briskly Marthas jaw swelled with the
 toothache; hungry times in camp, plenty hides but the folks
 will not eat them we eat them with a tolerable good appetite.
 Thanks be to Almighty God. Amen Mrs Murphy said here
 yesterday that thought she would commence on Milt. & eat him.
 I dont that she has done so yet, it is distressing The Donnos
 told the California folks that they commence to eat the dead
 people 4 days ago, if they did not succeed that day or next in
 finding their cattle then under ten or twelve feet of snow &
 did not know the spot or near it, I suppose they have done so
 ere this time. [29]

Satd. 27th Beautiful morning sun shineing brilliantly,

1847 wind about S. W. the snow has fell in debth about 5 feet
but no thaw but the sun in day time it freezeing hard every
Feb. night, heard some geese fly over last night saw none.

Sund. 28th Froze hard last night to day fair & sunshine
wind S.E. 1 solitary Indian passed by yesterday come from
the lake had a heavy pack on his back gave me 5 or 6 roots
resembleing onions in shape taste some like a sweet potatoe, all
full of little tough fibres.

Mar. Mond. March the 1st So fine & pleasant froze hard last
night there has 10 men arrived this morning from Bear
Valley with provisions we are to start in two or three days
& cash our goods here there is amongst them some old they
say the snow will be here untill June.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE
ACADEMY OF PACIFIC COAST HISTORY

VOL. 1

No. 7

PAPERS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO
COMMITTEE OF VIGILANCE
OF 1851

I.

EDITED BY

PORTER GARNETT

Assistant Curator, Academy of Pacific Coast History

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA
JULY, 1910

ACADEMY OF PACIFIC COAST HISTORY.

(Founded 1907.)

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According to the Constitution of the Academy, there are still five places to be filled upon the Council.

Extracts from the Constitution of the Academy of Pacific Coast History:

ARTICLE I.

The name of the Academy shall be the Academy of Pacific Coast History.

ARTICLE II.

Its object shall be the promotion of the study of the political, social, commercial and the industrial history, and of the ethnology, geography, and literature of the Pacific Coast of America, and the publication of monographs, historical documents, and other historical material relating thereto.

ARTICLE III.

The Regents of the University of California have entrusted the control and administration of the books and manuscripts collected by Mr. H. H. Bancroft and known as the Bancroft Collection, together with such other historical material as is already in their possession or may come into their possession, to the Council of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, on condition that the President of the University of California be, *ex officio*, a member of the Council, that the Secretary of the Academy be appointed by the Regents, and that the names of members of the Council be submitted to the Regents for their approval.

ARTICLE IX.

Any person approved by the Council may become a Fellow of the Academy of Pacific Coast History upon the recommendation of two fellows and the payment of ten dollars; and after the first year may continue a fellow by paying an annual subscription of ten dollars in advance. On payment of one hundred dollars, any fellow may become a life-fellow exempt from further subscriptions.

ARTICLE X.

The publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History shall be forwarded free of charge to all Fellows of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, and they shall be entitled to additional copies of these publications at a reduced rate from that charged to the general public.

Applications for Fellowships in the Academy of Pacific Coast History may be made to the Secretary, Curator, or to the Secretary of the Board of Regents, University of California, Berkeley, California.



1701

the remainder of which is blank. The paper is light blue in color and has a faint rule introduced in the manufacture. The book is bound in paper-covered boards and has on the front cover a printed label bearing the words, *Committee of Vigilance*. Several pages at the front and back contain a few names carelessly written with other impertinent matter. The text of the constitution occupies two pages and is followed by the signatures and addresses. The columns for numbers, names, business addresses, and residence addresses are, in the original, divided by rules made with a pen.

In rendering the document into print alterations have been made only in such particulars as would not affect the accuracy of the text. The punctuation of the constitution follows the original, but in the list of names, punctuation—almost wholly lacking in the manuscript—has been supplied. This does not apply to the apostrophe because of its orthographic character. Misspellings and irregular abbreviations have been retained except in cases where their retention would produce ambiguity. Brackets [] have been used for corrections and for supplementary and explanatory matter. Superior letters which occur with great frequency in the original have, in printing, been reduced to the line, except in cases where it seemed advisable or necessary to retain them. Illegible letters and words and lacunæ are marked by three dots (. . .) and those parts of the manuscript that have been overscored in ink are indicated by three crosses (× × ×).

A second document containing the names of the members of the committee has been used for comparison and annotation. This is a *Book of Names* which was used as a record-book by the sergeant-at-arms of the committee, A. J. McDuffee, and in it are entered the receipts of dues from the members together with various notes relating chiefly to their accounts. The book is $4\frac{5}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in size and has flexible black leather covers. The first page bears the following:

Notice.

Members are requested not to write in any place in this book, or in any way deface the same. The Sergt. at Arms will make the entry of Paid member when he receives the money.

A. J. McDuffee.

Book of Names.

PAPERS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO COMMITTEE OF
VIGILANCE OF 1851.

folio No. 1. J. W. S.¹

CONSTITUTION.

9th June 1851.

Whereas it has become apparent to the Citizens of San Francisco that there is no security for life and property either under the regulations of Society as it at present exists or under the laws as now administered,—therefore, the Citizens whose names are hereunto attached do unite themselves into an association for the maintenance of the peace and good order of Society and the preservation of the lives and property of the Citizens of San Francisco and do bind ourselves each unto the other to do and perform every lawful act for the maintenance of law and order and to sustain the laws when faithfully and properly administered but we are determined that no thief burglar incendiary or assassin shall escape punishment, either by the quibbles of the law the insecurity of prisons the carelessness or corruption of the Police or a laxity of those who pretend to administer justice.

And to secure the objects of this association we do hereby agree;
First,—that, the name and style of the association shall be the Committee of Vigilance for the protection of the lives and property of the Citizens and residents of the City of San Francisco.

Secondly,—that, there shall be a room selected for the meetings and deliberations of the Committee at which there shall be some one or more members of the Committee appointed for that purpose in constant attendance at all hours of the day and night to receive the report of any member of the association or of any person or persons whatsoever of any act of violence done to the person or property of any citizen of San Francisco and if in the judgment of the member or members of the Committee present it is such an Act as justifies the interference of this Committee either in aiding in the execution of the laws [2] folio No. 2. J. W. S. or the prompt and summary punishment of the offender the Committee shall be at once assembled for the purpose of taking such action as a majority of the Committee when assembled shall determine upon.

¹ Initials of Julius W. Salmon.

Thirdly,—that, it shall be the duty of any member or members of the Committee on duty at the Committee room whenever a general assemblage of the Committee is deemed necessary to cause a call to be made by two strokes upon a bell situated . . . [blank] which shall be repeated with a pause of one minute before each alarm.—The Alarm to be struck until ordered stopped. Fourthly,—that, when the Committee have assembled for action the decision of a majority present shall be binding upon the whole Committee and that those members of the Committee whose names are hereunto attached do pledge their honor and hereby bind themselves to defend and sustain each other in carrying out the determined action of this Committee at the hazard of their lives and their fortunes.

Fifthly,—that there shall be chosen monthly a President Secretary and Treasurer and it shall be the duty of the Secretary to detail the members required to be in daily attendance at the Committee room. A Sergeant at Arms shall be appointed whose duty it shall be to notify such members of their detail for duty.—The Sergeant at Arms shall reside at, and be in constant attendance at the Committee room.

There shall be a standing Committee of finance and qualification consisting of five each and no person shall be admitted a member of this association unless he be a respectable citizen and approved of by the Committee on qualification before admission. x x x

[on margin] President S. E. Woodworth. Treasurer Eug. Delessert. Secretary Is. Bluxome. Constitution adopted June 9, 1851.

		folio No. 3. J. W. S.	
No.	Name.	Place of bussiness.	Place of residence.
1.	[1] S. E. Woodworth	Powell & Pacific St.	Powell & Pacific.
2.	[2] S. Brannan.	x x x Sansom.	San Francisco.
3.	[3] E. Gorham.	Battery Street.	" "
4.	[4] Fredk. A. Woodworth.	Clay St. Wharf.	" "
5.	[5] Geo. J. Oakes.	First St.	" "
6.	[6] Frank S. Mahony.	Sacramento St.	" "
7.	[7] Francis E. Webster.	Pine St.	
8.	[8] R. D. W. Davis	Washington St.	
9.	[9] Jas. C. Ward.	Clay St., near Montgomery.	
10.	[10] Wm. N. Thompson.	Battery St., near Pine.	
11.	[11] Wm. H. Jones.	Sansome St.	Corner Powell & Pacific.
12.	[12] R. S. Watson.	Macondray & Co.	
13.	[13] C. Winter.	Pine & Battery.	

29.	[25]	Caleb Hyatt.	Oriental Hotel.		
30.	[26]	Robert Wells.	Clay Street.		
31.	[27]	C. H. Brinley.	at G. N. Shaw & Co's.	Battery St.	
32.	[28]	Saml. R. Curwen.	Store Ship "Byron."		
33.	[29]	H. D. Evans.	P. M. S. Co.	Stockt . . .	<i>Withdrawn.</i>
34.	[30]	J. W. Salmon.	Montgomery St.		<i>Resigned.</i>
35.	[31]	James F. Curtis.	Central wharf.	Front st.	
[4]			folio No. 4. J. W. S.		
No.		Name.	place of bussiness.	Residence.	
36.	[32]	John Y. Bryant.		Broadway.	<i>gone home.</i>
37.	[33]	Benj. Reynolds.	Clay, below Montgy.	Virginia St.	
38.	[34]	L. Hulsemann.	Montgy Str. between Bush & Sutter.		
39.	[35]	E. Kirkus.	California St.		
40.	[36]	A. W. Macpherson.	Leidesdorff St.		
41.	[37]	A. G. Randall.	Montgomery St.	Virginia St.	

42.	[38]	John Egan.			
43.	[39]	Thos. N. Deblois.			
44.	[40]	J. C. L. Wadsworth.	Cal. Exchange.	Dupont & Union.	
45.	[41]	W. T. Thompson.	Jackson St.	First St.	
46.	[42]	Stephen Payran.	Mansion House.		
47.	[43]	Wm. Hart.	Cor. Stockton & California.		
48.	[44]	N. Reynolds Davis.	Washington St., near Sansome.		
49.	[45]	C. Spring.	Market Street.		
50.	[46]	George M. Garwood.	Pine & Battery.		
51.	[47]	Gabriel Winter.	Do.		<i>gone Home.</i>
52.	[48]	A. Wheelwright.			
53.	[49]	R. S. Lammot.	Bush St., next to Oriental Hotel.		
54.	[50]	James Shindler.	M. G. Leonard & Co.		
55.	[51]	V. J. Fourgeaud.	Near corner of Powell & Clay St.		
56.	[52]	Jesse Southan.			<i>gone to China.</i>

57.	[53]	G. W. Ryckman.	Commercial Wharf.
58.	[54]	A. Jackson McDuffee.	
59.	[55]	Z. H. Robinson.	Pine St.
60.	[56]	W. L. Bromley.	Howisons Pier.
61.	[57]	P. D. Hedley.	Sacramento, n. Sansome.
62.	[58]	Geo. R. Ward.	Clay St.
63.	[59]	A. Ottenheimer.	Pine Street.
64.	[60]	S. V. Marshall.	found at T. & P., Mont. St.
65.	[61]	C. L. Wilson.	
66.	[62]	G. H. Davis.	foot of Jackson St.
67.	[63]	Hazen Haseltine.	Store Ship Pleades.
68.	[64]	William H. Taber.	
69.	[65]	P. Frothingham.	Corner Sansome & Wash.
70.	[66]	Fred. Iken.	Montgomery St., between Bush & Pine.
[5]			folio No. 5. J. W. S.

85.	[81]	Danl. J. Thomas, Jr.	Clay St., opposite Leidesdorf.		
x x x		x x x	x x x	x x x	
87.	[83]	H. F. Von Lengerke	Montgomery, near Sutter.		
88.	[84]	Julius G. Schultz.	Bush St., above Montgry.		
89.	[85]	J. D. Farwell.	Central Wha. & Front St.		
90.	[86]	J. C. Derby;	Jackson St.	Virginia St.	
91.	[87]	J. Pratt Stephens.	Sacramento & Leidesdorff.	Same.	
92.	[88]	Jacob P. Leese.	Happy Vally.		
93.	[89]	T. J. West.	Kearney St.		
94.	[94]	Thomas McCahill.	Montgomery Street.		
95.	[91]	Edgar Wakeman.	Webb St.	do.	
96.	[92]	Wm. T. Coleman.			
97.	[93]	W. B. Peake.	foot Jackson St.		
98.	[94]	A. Wardwell.	S. Brannans office, Howard St.		
99.	[95]	J. S. Clark.	Corner of Curny & Pine St.		

Police.

112.	[112]	Jos. R. Curtis.	Comercial St.	Clay St.	paid E. D.
113.	[113]	Wm. H. Tillinghast.	Clay Street.		
114.					
115.	[114]	Jno. G. McKaraker.	Foot of Jackson St., at Carter & Fuller's.		
116.	[115]	William H. Graham.	Mission Street.		
117.	[116]	J. F. Hutton.	Mission St.		
118.	[117]	John Raynes.	Jackson St.		
119.	[118]	J. H. Fisher.	Clay St.	Clay St.	
120.	[119]	Horace Morrison.	Howisons Pier.	Howisons Pier.	
121.	[120]	John H. Watson.	Jackson St.	Cor. of Stockton.	
122.	[121]	Joshua Hilton.	"	"	"
123.	[122]	F. L. Dana.	Pacific Wharf.		
124.	[123]	John Quincy Cole.	Sansome St.	Pacific St.	
125.	[124]	James Pratt.	Ohio House, Kearny St.	Kearny St.	
126.	[125]	O. P. Sutton.	Front St.	Pacific St.	

127. [126]	Geo. W. Douglas.	Sansome St.	Sansome St.
128. [127]	Wm. G. Badger.	Jackson St.	
129. [128]	A. J. Ellis.	x x x	Mission St.
130. [129]	Chas. H. Vail.	Battery St.	Corner California & Dupont.
131. [130]	Saml. J. Stabler.	Battery St.	
132. [131]	Henry M. Naglee.	280 Montry. St.	
133. [132]	Wm. Forst.	Battery St.	
134. [133]	Wm. J. Sherwood.	Pacific St.	
135. [134]	Otis V. Sawyer.	Boston.	Clay St.
136. [135]	A. L. Tubbs.	"	Howison Wharf.
137. [136]	E. W. Travers.	Web St.	. . .
138. [137]	W. N. Horton.		Pacific Hotel.
139. [138]	Nath. D. Hill.	Washington St.	Stockton St.
140.	[blank]		
[7]		folio No. 7 J. W. S.	

No.	Name.	place of business.	Residence.
141. [139]	William Langerman.	Montgomery St.	do.
142. [140]	Eugene Hart.	Mansion House, Dupont St.	
143. [141]	B. E. Babcock.		Kearny St., near Cala.
144. [142]	T. K. Battelle.	x x x	Montgomery St.
145. [143]	J. C. Treadwell.	x x x	
146. [144]	Hartford Joy.	Sansome, near Washington. at Farwell & Curtia.	
147. [145]	Augustus Belknap.	Sanson St., betwn. Jackson & Wash.	
148. [146]	Wm. Burling.	Store Ship Salem.	Dupont, Clay & Sac.
149. [147]	John F. Osgood.	Ditto.	Powell St., cornr. Washn.
150. [148]	Doct. Horatio S. Gates.	Mansion House, Dupon St.	
151. [149]	Thos. N. Cazneau.	Corner of Montgomery & California.	Dupont, near California.
152. [150]	E. Kemp.	do.	
153. [151]	Jeremiah Spalding.	Battery Street.	Battery Street.
154. [152]	Wm. C. Graham.	"	"

155. [153]	J. Mead Huxley.	Cazneau's office.	
156. [154]	John M. Coughlin.	Sacramento, below Leidesdorff.	Main [Mission?] St.
157. [155]	Charles Minturn.	Cunningham Wharf.	
158. [156]	Sam. Moss, Jr.	Clay Street.	Virginia Street.
159. [157]	Geo. Clifford.	Clay Street.	California & Kearny.
160. [158]	Howard Cunningham.	Montgomery St.	Idto.
161. [159]	C. O. Brewster.	Davis St.	Cal. & Pac.
162. [160]	Chas. Soule, Jr.	do.	x x x at place of business.
163. [161]	Chas. L. Case.	Sansome Street.	
164. [162]	Chas. S. Wood.	California St.	
165. [163]	Robert H. Belden.	Cor. Montgomery & Clay St.	
166. [164]	Charles Moore.	Sacramento Street.	
167. [165]	Wm. Fell.	Mason, nr. Clay.	
168. [166]	Napoleon Smith.	Cor. Sanson & Washinton.	
169. [167]	James R. Duff.	Sansome St. near Commodore	

170.	[168] James Dowd.	Washington St., cr. Front.	
x x x			
172.	[169] John O. Earl.	Washington St., cr. Front.	
173.	[170] E. M. Earl.	Washington St., as above.	
174.	[171] E. W. Crowell.	Sansome St., between Jackson & Washington.	
175.	[172] Randolph M. Cooley.	(Hights office), California Exchange.	N.Y. gone home.
[8]			
173.	[173] J. L. Van Bokkelen.	City Hall.	" "
174.	[174] Adrian H. Gildemeester.	Montgomery St.	
175.	[175] Charles H. Hill.	California St.	Kearney St.
176.	[177] George H. Blake.	Clay St.	
177.	[178] Saml. S. Phillips.	Sacramento St.	
178.	[176] J. Neall, Jr.		
179.	[179] De Witt C. Brown.	California St. Wharf.	Oriental.
180.	[180] Charles Del Vecchio	California St., corner Spring.	

196. [196]	John J. Vioget.	Mission Street.
197. [197]	Sam. L. Haven.	Montgomery St.
198. [198]	Luis Bode.	“ betw. Bush & Sutter.
199. [199]	Geo. H. Hosefross.	Washington Restaurant, near . . .
200. [200]	Wm. H. Silverthorn	“ “
201. [201]	J. Wm. Hartman.	Kearney Street between Pine & Bush.
202. [202]	D. W. Smith.	Pacific near Battery.
203. [203]	J. B. Morse.	Clay, between Mont. & Leidof.
204. [204]	B. S. Buckley.	
205. [205]	D. W. Hunt.	Sansom St., opsett Macondry.
206. [206]	Nathaniel Miller.	Front St., 2 door Broadway.
207. [207]	Geo. McDougall.	Union[?]
[9]		Residence. Bussiness.
208. [208]	Wm. H. Crowell.	Sansome St. Merchant.
209. [209]	John T. Smith.	Kerney St. Carriage Maker.

210.	[210]	W. Orrick Johnson.	Kearney St.	Livery Stable.	
211.	[211]	J. B. Mitchell.	Kurny St.	" "	
212.	[212]	Jas. B. M. Crooka.	No. 277 Montgomery St.	Merchant.	
213.		W. H. Parker.	Ht. Green & Union.	Hotel Keeper.	(Expelled)
214.	[214]	Noah Ripley.	Corner Pacific & Sansome St.		
215.	[215]	George F. Reeve.	China Street.	Jewelry.	
216.	[216]	J. Hawes Davis.	Oriental Hotel.		
217.	[217]	J. L. Bleakley.	Pacific, near Montgomery.	Merchant.	
218.	[218]	David S. Turner.	Sansome, near Jackson St.	Mercht.	
219.	[219]	Geo. J. Robertson.	Howisons Whf.	Do.	
220.	[220]	William M. Hogg.	Clay, near Washington.	do.	
221.	[221]	Josiah Drake.	Battery, near Washington.	do.	
222.	[222]	A. Engels, Jr.	Sansome, " Pine. Rassett House	do.	
223.	[223]	x x x L. Tufts.	x x x	Expelled.	[name omitted]
224.	[224]	John Schmidt.	Corner of Dupont	do.	

225. [225]	Hugh Mc Grath.	at Howards. Union Place, 1 door from Union St. & Jackson. Kearney bet. Washingto . . .	Carpenter. Lauenstein, Gibson & Co. California, below Montgomery. Feed Store
226. [226]	Robt. George.		
227. [227]	James Lea.		
228. [228]	Cyrus Palmer.	at Macondray's & Co's.	
229. [229]	Jas. C. Hasson.	276 Montgomery St.	
230. [230]	Mahlon D. Eyre.	Sacramento.	
231. [231]	M. H. Van Dyke.	foot of Pine, in Battery.	Physician.
232. [232]	Charles Preeht, Dr.	Dupont, near Washington.	Physician.
233. [233]	W. Reynolds.	Montgomery St.	Clerk.
234. [234]	John W. Cartwright.	California St.	Merchant.
235. [235]	Thomas Gihon.	Clay St.	Engraver.
236.	Thomas Norris.	Pine, between Montgomery & Kerny.	Marble Cutter.
237. [237]	Chas. H. Welling.	Virginia, n. Bway.	. . .
238. [238]	William A. White.	Steam Boat.	Hotel, Long Warf.
239. [239]	Jacob L. Wells.	Kearney Street, between pine & Bush.	

exempt.

[name omitted]

Absconded.

253. [253]	John L. Moffat.	Montgomery St.	Montgomery St.
254. [254]	Jas. Kellogg.	Do.	Do.
255. [255]	John T. Temple.	Do.	Do.
256. [256]	H. V. S. McCullough.	Sansome.	California, Cor. Kearney.
257. [257]	Chas. E. Bowers, Jr.	" & Pacific.	Sansome & Pacific.
258. [258]	James M. Ball.		Pine St.
259. [259]	Galen Burdell.	Plaza.	Stockton St.
260. [260]	James Wilber.	Montgomery, corner Jack.	Mont.
261. [261]	William Newell.	Pacific St., near Kearny.	
262. [262]	John Gordon.	Montgomery St., near Pacific.	
263. [263]	Wm. Smith.	Laws Wharf.	Webb Street.
264.	David Earl.	Jacson Above Karney.	[name omitted]
265.	[erased.]		[blank]
266. [266]	R. Hochkofler.	Jackson St.	
267. [267]	W. O. Smith.	273 Montgomery.	Calif. St., bel. Kearney.

Chief of Police.

San Juan.

[268]	H. M. Gray, M. D.	Washington St., 4 door below Stockton.	
[269]	John Sullivan.		
[270]	Henry McCay.		
[271]	E. Carter.	Howisons Pier.	Paige & Websters buildg.
[272]	C. J. Torbert.	at J. B. Bidleman's.	Montgomy. St.
[273]	Timothy G. Phelps.	Washington St., between Battery & Front St.	
[274]	John Dows.	ditto.	ditto.
[275]	C. T. Huntington.	Sansome St.	
[276]	John T. Ackley.	Commercial St.	
[277]	Geo. C. Potter.	Oriental.	
[278]	E. M. Hayes.	Clay, near Kearney.	
[11]	Name.	Place of Bussiness.	Residence.
[279]	L. Cohn.	California.	California.
[280]	Henry Hoeller.	Corner of California and Montgom x x x Street.	
[281]	C. B. Loomis.	Battery St., near Pacific.	

282. [282]	B. F. Wynn.	Mr. Meyers[?], Pine st. B . . . Mong . . .	<i>gone Home.</i>
283. [283]	Arthur M. Ebbets.	California St. Wharf.	
284. [284]	George Gibson.	Do.	Union Place.
285.	E. W. Kuster.	Kearny St.	Union Place.
[285. E. W. Kester.]			
286. [286]	R. Matheson.	Corner of Jackson & Virginia.	
287. [287]	W. D. M. Howard.	Montgomery St.	Mission St.
288. [288]	J. H. Ruddach.	Barge Office.	
289. [289]	Kingsbury Root.	Post Office Building, No. 7 up stairs.	
290. [290]	Gilbert A. Grant.	Beach, Sleddon & Co., Jackson St. Wharf.	
291. [291]	H. P. Jones.	Cobb & Co.	Sutter Street.
292. [292]	Simon Haber.	Washington St.	Washington.
293. [293]	Frederick R. Bunker.	at Palmer, Cook & Co., Cor. Union & Kearney St.	
294. [294]	George W. Harris.	Battery St.	Geo. N. Shaw & Co.
295. [295]	Lanning[?], F. Oakley.	Clark Point, cor. Coningh[Cunningham's]Wafe[Wharf].	<i>gone to N. Y.</i>
296. [296]	G. W. Shulta.	at Drake & Co's, Battery St.	

297. [297] R. W. Nevins. " Battery St., 2 Doors from Cuningham Ward.
 298. F. R. Loomis. Cor. San. & Pine. In building.
 299. [299] Jas. H. Wethered. A. M. Van Nostrand.
 300. [300] John Prendergast. Golden Gate Hotel. San Francisco.
 301. [301] Joseph Porter. Mission Street. Mission Street.
 302. [302] Chas. H. H. Cook. Broadway.
 303. [303] H. Gerke. Mason & Eddy Street.
 304. [304] Francis Hoehn. Corner of Pacific & Dupont St.
 305. [305] Joseph H. Levirn[?]. 2 door from Sansom in Pine Street. Same.
 306. [306] Chas. S. Simpson. Bush, above Battery.
 307. [307] John Dennie. at Dr. Stouts, Wabt. St.
 308. [308] James M. Swift. at Dewey & Heiser's, Cal. Street.
 309. David F. Lans[i]ng. On board "Hannah Sprague."
 [309. D. M. Lansing.]
 310. [310] A. Y. Easterby. Store Ship Edwin. Front & Pacific Strt.
 311. [311] C. C. Richmond. "Jackson Street." Jackson St.

312. [312]	Peter Thompson.	Ship Pico.	Pacific Worf.
313. [313]	Vi. Turner.	Montgomery St.	Merchant.
[12]	Name.	Place of Business.	Residence.
314. [314]	Saml. L. Dewey.	California Street.	Emma Street.
315. [315]	Andrew Roy.	Montgry Street.	Mont. do.
316. [316]	Thomas P. Everett. Expelled.	Clay St. Expelled.	Clay St. Expelled.
317.	x x x [John P. Muldoon]	Halleck St., near Sansone.	Halleck, n. Sanso.
318. [318]	P. Schuyler Hunter.	Bush St.	[blank]
319. [319]	John A. Steele.	Calaforny St.	Resident: Clay & Sampson[?].
320. [320]	Phillip Schloss.	Montgomery Str.	“ Montg, bet. Sac. & Cal.
321. [321]	James Paul.		Powell St., next to Pacific St.
322. [322]	C. A. Downea.	Macondray & Co.	
323. [323]	Joseph Rasette.	Rasette House.	
324. [324]	Matthew P. Burns.	First St.	
325. [325]	Chas. H. West.	Naglee's Building.	Virginia Street.

326. [326]	Wm. Blackburn.	Battery Street.	
327. [327]	Jas. McKinlay.		
328. [328]	Wm. H. White.	corner Sansone & Jackson St.	
329. [329]	W. Donaldson Kinney.	at Hergoyne & Co Office.	Pine Mt. (unfortunate house,
330. [330]	John B. Evans.	Ebbetts & Co.	
331. [331]	Edwd. A. Suwerkrop.	Sacramento Street.	Pleasant Valley, opposite Chapn. Pulmona.
332. [332]	M. Ruedale.	Sansone Mt.	Mansum Mt.
333. [333]	James De Long.	Montgomery Mt.	
334. [334]	H. Mathews.	Commercial Mt.	Post Mt.
335. [335]	A. Massey.	x x x	x x x
336. [336]	Edmund Smith.	Dupont, below Pacific St., West side.	
337. [337]	Henry A. Webster.	Montgomery Mt.	
338. [338]	Wm. Haseltine.	Davis Street.	Davis St.
339. [339]	Joshua Norton.	Store Ship Placida.	do. do.
340. [340]	Geo. H. Massman.	Corner of Jack. & Mont.	Jones Hotel.

341. [341]	I. E. Woolf.	Corner Montgomery & Clay. Stockton & Powel. Chestnut Street between	
342. [342]	M. J. Jacobs.		
343. [343]	G. Levrier.	Corner Sacramento & Sansome Sta.	
344. [344]	Wm. P. C. Stebbins.	in Kurney St.	
345. [345]	Jas. Murray.	Central Whf.	Central Whf., Front St.
346. [346]	J. M. Tewksbury.		
347. [347]	John P. Corrigan.	Clay St.	Clay Street.
[13]			
348. [348]	James Clanny.	Long Warf.	do.
349. [349]	Samuel Fleishhacke[r].	. . . Pasifick St.	
350. [350]	Thos. J. Johnson.	M. G. Leonard & Co.	
351. [351]	P. Torquet.	Sansome St., Nr. Pine.	
352. [352]	A. Van Damme.	id.	
353. [353]	Wm. H. Ranlett.	Corner Clay & Davis.	
354. [354]	Geo. O. Whitney.	Battery St., near California St.	Pacific St.

355. [355]	B. E. Holland.	Morning Post. Commercial Str., at Charles Gulliver. x x x	. . . st., above Stockton x x x Valejo. x x x at Charles Gulliver, up stairs.
356. [356]	Lewis Reinstein.		
357. [357]	S. A. Smith.	Montgomery St.	
358. [358]	A. S[?]. Hallett.	Pacific St., 2 doors above Battery St.	
359. [359]	S. R. Throckmorton.	Cor. Clay & Sansome St.	
360. [360]	R. B. Hampton.	Powell near Sacramento, yellow Building.	
361. [361]	Chas. L. Wiggins.	at C. C. Richmonds, Jackson St.	
362. [362]	Andrew J. Almy.	at Montgomery, corner Clay St.	
363. [363]	Thos. B. Parker.	corner Montgomery & Clay Sts.	
364. [364]	Thos. Cunningham.	Brig Lion, O. N. Shaw & Co.	
365. [365]	Chas. B. Laffite.	Washington St.	Front St., near Pacific, over Barling & McKee, Jones Hotel.
366. [366]	C. S. Kasson.	Marysville.	
367. [367]	Edward Wolfsohn.	Montgomery St.	Goldmoester Building.
368. [368]	B. Hinkley.	First St.	

370. [370]	J. H. Blood.	Pacific St. Wharf.	Belden St., bet. Pine & Bush.
371. [371]	Jno. Gavett.	Sansome Street.	Bay Hotel.
372. [372]	Benja. A. Patten.	Cornr of Sansom & Pacific.	
373. [373]	Chas. W. Cook.	Palmer, Cook & Co.	Gellespie House, north Beach.
374. [374]	Arthur B. Stout.	Washington St.	
375. [375]	Joseph E. de la Montagnie.	California St. Whf.	Washington St. near Stockton.
376. [376]	Maurice A. Correa.	corn. of Califa. & Kearney.	
377. [377]	N. C. Skinner, M. D.	Merchant Str.	in building.
378. [378]	H. D. Graham, M. D.	Merchant St.	" "
379. [379]	Erastus C. Lord.	Battery St.	near Pine St.
380. [380]	Ralph H. Lord.	" "	" "
381. [381]	F. Mason, Jr.	" "	" "
382. [382]	Alonzo Coy.	California Whf.	California wf.
383. [383]	B. G. Latimer.	Battery St., cor. Pine.	Battery St., cor. Pine.
[14]	Names.	Place of Bussiness.	Residence.

384. [384]	Wm. H. Mosher.	San Francisco.			
385. [385]	Th. von Rutte.	idem.	Sansome St.		
386. [386]	Bernard Rafferty.	Clay St.	. . .		
387. [387]	Thos. Tucker.	Long Wharf.	Long Wharf.		Boatmen.
388. [388]	Frank Lee.	Long Wharf.	Long Wharf.		
389. [389]	Geo. H. Grant.	Geo. N. Shaw & Co.	Battery St.		
390. [390]	James R. Bolton.	Montgomery St.	Montgomery Street.		
391. [391]	William Tichnor.	Sea Gull (Capt.)	Long Wharf.		Sea Gull.
392. [392]	Frank Baker.	Clay St. Plaza.			
393. [393]	Peter Markey.	Central Wharf.	cor. Front St.		
394. [394]	Thomas Courtis.	Sansom St.	Bush St.		
395. [395]	Philip Verplank, Jr.	Pacific St. Wharf, near Sansome.			
396. [396]	G. C. Bode.	Bush Str., betw. Montg. & Kearny.			
397. [397]	Chas S. Buckner.	Clay St., below Stockton.	Same.		

399.	[499]	J. Haine. d. m.	Mission Street, in Capt. Folsom's House. Office in City Hall.
400.	[400]	Wm. M. Eddy.	Mission St., near 4th St.
401.	[401]	Pedro C. Carrillo.	Woodworth & Morris. Santa Barbara.
402.	[402]	T. F. Gould.	Cor. Cala. & Sansome Streets.
403.	[403]	Wm. M. Lent.	Sansome St. Powell.
404.	[404]	Rodmond Gibbons.	at M. G. Leonard's Broadway, ab. Powell.
405.	[405]	John H. Titcomb.	Corner of Pacific & Powell Streets. at Dr. G. M. Yard's.
406.	[406]	Jno. Bluxome.	Cornr. Stockton & Broadway Sta.
407.	[407]	Silas D. Washburn.	Ship Iowa, off Long Wharf. pd.
408.	[408]	Hiram Webb.	Over W. H. Stovalls, on } Battery St. Green Street.
409.	[409]	David Jones.	Corn. Cal. & Sanson St.
410.	[410]	Wm. L. Higgins.	California St., below Sanson. Jackson St.
411.	[411]	A. P. Sheldon	California St., below Battery St.
412.	[412]	Jno. A. Spooner.	Karney St., near California St.
413.	[413]	Geo. H. Nelson.	Jackson St., corner of Front.

414. [414]	J. P. Manrow.	Montgomery St.	Union, Near Stockton.
415. [415]	Stephen Burgein.	Montgomery, cor. Sumner Sta.	
416. [416]	Theodore A. Barry.	(or. Sansome & Pacific.	
417. [417]	F. W. Sampson.	Davis St.	Davis St.
418. [418]	Danl. L. Oakley.	Laws Wharf.	Bay Hotel.
[15]	Names.	Place of Business.	Residence.
419. [419]	Elisha Brown.	Columbia house.	Kerry St.
420. [420]	Adolph Wapler.	St. Marys Alley.	S. Francisco. Pd.
421. [421]	Pulaski Jacks.	Clay St.	San Francisco.
422. [422]	Meyer Ehrlich.	Washington St.	San Francisco.
423. [423]	F. Schultze.	{ Sansome St. corner of Sacramento St. x x x x x x	San Franco.
424. [424]	Noyes Baldwin.	Karney.	
425. [425]	C. V. S. Gibbs.	Sansome.	San Francisco.

427. [427]	Otto Esche.	St. Mary Alley.	" "
428. [428]	C. Conroy.	San Rafael.	" "
429. [429]	L. L. Batchelder.	Washington St.	" "
430. [430]	. . . [H.] Behr, Dr.	Kearney St.	" "
431. [431]	A. W. Snyder.	Sansome St.	" "
432. [432]	W. H. Talmage.	Sansome St.	" "
433. [433]	Florence Mahony.	Sansome St.	San Francisco.
434. [434]	Chanler Welch.	North Beach.	" "
435. [435]	S. M. Alford.	California St.	" "
436. [436]	W. C. Annan.	Battery St.	" "
437. [437]	Richd. M. Jessup.	Washington St.	" "
438. [438]	E. S. Cuth[?].	Pacific Whf.	Pacific Whf.
439. [439]	Eug. Delessert.	Next to King of Wm.	Burned out. 22 June, 1851.
440. [440]	John Middleton.		
441. [441]	Chas. C. Bowman.	Pacific Wharf.	

Krempl.

442.	[442]	G. G. Hayden.	Asst. Ed. . . . Cal. Com., Com. Officer.	
443.	[443]	P. P. Hull.	Woodworth & Morris.	Clay . . .
444.	[444]	John F. Schander.	Cunninghams Wharf, Bay Hotel.	
445.	[445]	Geo. A. Johnson.	Pacific Wharf.	Mission Mt.
446.	[446]	Henry S. Dexter.	Pacific Wharf.	Broadway.
447.	[447]	J. R. West.	do. do.	Same place.
448.	[448]	M. R. Roberts.	Store Ship (Iolconda, Rincon Point.	
449.	[449]	James M. Taylor.	Corner of Merchant Street.	Montgomery Sta. (C. of Hutter.
450.	[450.]	Emil Kunze[?].	Ship Carpenter.	Rincon pol . . .
451.	[451]	Robert Wilson.	Montgomery House.	Same place.
452.	[452]	John H. Kent.		
453.	[453]	James A. Baker.		
[16]				
Nos.		Names.	Place of Business.	Residence.
454.	[454]	Robert von Carnap.	St. Marys Alley.	San Francisco.

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455. [455]	J. C. Ruhling.	Montgomery Str.	do.
456. [456]	Saml. F. Edgerton.	Clay & Montgy.	do.
457. [457]	S. T. Thompson.	Battery St., A. L. & Co.	do.
458. [458]	T. J. Bayless.	Custom House.	
459. [459]	Dixey W. Thompson.	Brunswick, Stea. Wm. Robin . . .	
460. [460]	Appleton Oakemith.	Steamer "Gold Hunter."	Steamer "Gold Hunter."
461. [461]	J. Perry, Jr.	Wells & Co.	Cola.[California]St.
462. [462]	G. W. Soulé.	Battery St., A. L. & A.	Battery St.
463. [463]	George M. Smith.	Clay St.	
464. [464]	Alex. Murray.	California St.	
465. [465]	Wm. N. Shelley.	Sea Pilot, Cunningshams Wharf.	
466. [466]	Wm. Sharon.	John Middleton.	Sansom Street.
467. [467]	R. R. Harris.	Courier office.	Clay Between dupont & Stockton.
x x x [468]	W. Harris,[?] 82	. . .	Discharged. Argenti & Co.
. . .	Henry S. Brown.	Ship Clarendon.	

Not a member.

x x x

469. [469]	Stephen M. Tibbitts.	House on Long Wharf.
470. [470]	J. Ferguson.	George St., between Powell & Mason.
471. [471]	Wm. F. Martin.	C. Wharf.
472. [472]	J. D. Wilson.	Clancy (Clanny?) & Co., Long Wharf.
473. [473]	Ben Smith.	Surprise (Hotel), Pacific Wharf.
474. [474]	Edward Toby.	Wells & Co.
475. [475]	Joseph W. Gregory.	Stockton St.
476. [476]	Gus Fourgeaud.	x x x San Fran.
477. [477]	James W. Goodrich.	cor. Merchant.
478. [478]	Hermann Müller.	Montgomery & Butler.
479. [479]	Jas. J. Gardiner.	San Francisco.
480. [480]	Titus Cronise.	Mission St., nr. Fourth.
481. [481]	J. A. McCrea.	San Francisco.
482. [482]	Geo. O. Ecker.	" "
		Mission St. near 4th.

[220]

483. [483]	Paul Petrovits.	Bolton & Baron 'a.	
[17]			
Nos.	Names.	Place of Business.	Residence.
484. [484]	W. J. Silver.	Sacramento, near Webb St.	
485. [485]	E. S. Mendels.	Corner Sacramento and Kearny Streets.	
486. [486]	Den[n]'s Janvrin.	Corn. Stockton & Sacramento St.	Inspector in the Customs.
487. [487]	Milton Nelson.	Lagoon Pavilion.	
488. [488]	Camilo Martin.	Delessert, Ligeron & Co 'a.	Montgomery St.
489. [489]	Emile Grisar.	California St.	
490. [490]	D. W. Cady.	Surverers Office.	
491. [491]	W. S. Tarbox.	Carpenter, B. & V., near Sansome St.	
492. [492]	Michael Reese.	Naglees Byldeng.	Happy Valey.
493. [493]	James Root.	Clay Street.	Clay Street.
494. [494]	Jno. Buckler, Jr.	Howisons Pier.	Howison's Pier.
495. [495]	Frederick Franck.	Montgomery street.	Same place.

gone Home.

496. [496]	Mathew McIntyre.	Well[Webb?]St. Building.	Sansome St.
497. [497]	W. O. Bokee.	Gildermester	Mission St.
498. [498]	Wm. A. Darling	Darling & Co.	Cor. Clay & Sansome Sts.
499. [499]	P. De Liagne.		Kearney Street.
500. [500]	J. S. Marston.	San Francisco.	Long Wharf.
501. [501]	John A. Sutter, Jr.	id.	Washington street.
502. [502]	John Vandewater.	Poel[Powell]St.	Poell St.
503. [503]	Davenport Cozzens.		Sacramento St.
x x x			
505. [505]	A. T. Ladd.	Battery.	San Francisco.
506. [506]	Bela Dexter.	Foot of California St.	
507. [507]	Sam. Merritt.	Montgomery St., cor. of Clay.	Montgomery St., co. of Cal.
508. [508]	C. Griswold.	Brigham, Reynolds & Co.	Sansome St.
509. [509]	Henry Wetherbee	Sansome St.	Kerney Str.
510. [510]	Andrew J. George.	Sacramento St.	Sac. St.

{ not to be ad-
mitted. [name
omitted]

511.	[511]	James H. Edwardson.	San Francisco.	Barling & McKee.	} Marysville.
512.	[512]	Benja. G. Davis.		Wilsons Exchange.	
513.	[513]	R. A. Eddy.	Marysville.	Marysville.	{ gone Home.
514.	[514]	Morton Cheesman.	Marysville.	Jones Hotel.	
515.	[515]	Jno. McKee.	San Francisco.	Pacific Street, of B. & McKee.	
516.	[516]	Henry A. Barling.	do.	“ “ do.	
517.	[517]	Saml. P. Goodale.	do.	Mission St.	} Sandwich Is.
518.	[518]	S. J. Lynch.	do.	Dupont St.	
[18]					
No.		Name.	Place of Business.	Place of Residence.	
519.	[519]	Edwd. R. Anthony.	Adams & Co's.	San Francisco.	Marysv[ille.]
520.	[520]	Alex. Kirchner.	Montgomery str.	San Francisco.	
521.	[521]	Joel Noah.		Battery Street.	
522.	[522]	A. B. Southworth.	Battery St., near Pacific.		
523.	[523]	S. W. Britton.	Jackson St. Wharf.	Corner Bush & Stockton.	

524.	[524]	Chas. T. Oakes.	Blackburn & Thompsons.		
525.	[525]	J. D. Nason.	Steamer Goliah.	on board.	
526.	[526]	J. Bandman[n].	Montgy. Street, betw. Pine & Bush.		
527.	[527]	G. Reinecke.	at Robert Rodgers', Clay Street.	Clay Street.	
528.	[528]	John Rodfish.	San Francisco.	on board brig Orleans.	at Nru.
529.	[529.	Arthur Tarillier[?].	San Francisco.	Corner Clay & Kearney.	Trinidad.
530.	[530]	Robert A. Parker.	Trinidad.	Klamoth County.	Trinidad.
531.	[531]	Edward P. Southard.		San Francisco.	
532.	[532]	L. A. de Groot.	Corner Sacramento & Kearny st.		
533.	[533]	Leopold Krambach.	Corne. Kearny & Sacramento st.		
534.	[534]	W. Revere.	Pacific Exchange.	Jackson St., No. 13.	
535.	[535]	Rich. Horton.	Montgomery St., opp. Merchant St.		
536.	[536]	Jno. Lobdell.	Clay St., K. S. & R.[?]	Clay St.	
537.	[537]	B. F. Hanna.	U[?]. S. R.	Clay St.	

{ not to be ad-
mitted. [name
omitted]

539.	W. W. Mc Lean.	Sansome st., one door from pine.	
540. [540]	J. W. Stillman.	Sacramento St., one door from Kearney.	
541. [541]	S. K. Labatt.	32 Clay St.	
542. [542]	S. P. Woodward.	Montgomery St.	Montgomery St.
543. [543]	W. M. Randell.	Custom House.	
544. [544]	A. G. Cage, Jr.	California St., below Batery.	
545. [545]	Henry Martin.	Corner Sansome & Long Wharf.	
546. [546]	A. I. Hall.	" "	" "
547. [547]	D. N. Hawley.	" Sacramento & Leidsdorf.	
548. [548]	J. W. Sterling.	" Sacramento & Leidsdorf.	
549. [549]	M. Feigenbaum.	California Str.	
550. [550]	P. J. Hickey.	Clay St.	
551. [551]	G. H. Devoe.	Foot Jackson St.	Foot of Jackson St.
552. [552]	H. N. Squire	Cunninghams Wharf.	
553. [553]	Michael Hellman.	Clay Steet.	

[19]	No.	Name.	Place of Business.	Place of Residence.	Boat Police.
554.	[554]	P. Warren Van Winkle.	J. L. Folsoms Office.	Pleasant Valley.	
555.	[555]	Henry Hale.	Sansom Street.	Do.	
556.	[556]	Geo. R. Winslow.	Kearney St.	Kearney St.	
557.	1	Jno. Walker, Jr.	Clay.	Clay Street.	
558.	[558]	G. L. Dudley.	"	"	
559.	[559]	Joseph Burr.	Custom House, Lower End Calif. St.		
560.	[560]	Geo. B. Hitchcock.	Montgomery Street, near Clay.		
561.	[561]	Edward Franklin.	Sacramento St.	Sacramento St.	
562.	[562]	G. Elliot.	California St., betw. Dupon & Kerry.		
563.	[563]	W. H. Clarke.	Ship Shakspeare.		
564.	[564]	Charles Thompson.	x x x	San Francisco.	
565.	[565]	Edwin Hull.	Broadway.		
566.	[566]	Theo. Dimon.	Rassette House.	Bush St.	

567.	[567]	Eugene J. de S ^a Marina.	17 Clay Str.	17 Clay Str.
568.	[568]	B. J. G. de S ^a Marina.	Montgomery St.	Clay St.
569.	[569]	Wm. W. Baker.	Schooner Ja. R. Whiting.	
570.	[570]	John Sweeney.	Kerney St.	
571.	[571]	L. W. Sloat.	Argenti's Building, Montgy. St.	
572.	[572]	Henry L. Ford.	Kerney St.	
573.	[573]	Thomas J. L. Smiley.	Sansome St.	
574.	[574]	E. Y. Dimmett.		
575.	[575]	P. B. Clark.	foot Jackson St.	
576.	[576]	Milo J. Goss.	Sansom St.	
577.	[577]	Emanuel Gross.	Joven Emilia.	
578.	[578]	Franklin Williams.	Montgoy. St.	Jackson Street.
579.	[579]	S. Beebe Ludlow.	Battery St.	Commercial St.
580.	[580]	Philip A. Roach.	Monterey.	
581.	[581]	D. Levett.	Clay St.	

582.	L. A. Levy, Jr.	Cor. Mont. & Clay.	
583.	John W. Shoemaker.	Pacific Mt. Wharf.	
584.	James Gardner.	Pacific Mt. Wharf.	
585.	Albert T. A. Guild.	Corner Front & Pacific.	
586.	Elijah Swift.	Fremont, cr. H . . . [Harrison?]	
587.	Thomas B. Bryant.	x x x	Kearny Street.
588.	Beverley C. Sanders.	Howison's Pier.	
[20]		Place of Business.	Residence.
589.	H. C. Coy.	Sansome & Cal. St.	California St. Whf.
590.	x x x	x x x	x x x
591.	Charles A. Poor.	Sansome St. above Clay.	
592.	R. D. Brimagon.	Cal. Exchange.	
593.	G. K. Fuller.	San Francisco.	Pacific Wharf, below Battery St.
594.	B. L. Ol. Gauvreau.	San Francisco.	Eldorado.
595.			

[scored out]

596. [596]	James Laidley.	Cal. St., next Jones Hotel.	
597. [597]	Henry Cole.	Ship Emily.	
598. [598]	Isaac M. Merrill.	Sansome St.	San Fran.
599. [599]	John B. Peachy.	Folsom & Second St.	
600. [600]	O. H. Boyd.	No. 26 Commercial St.	cor. Clay & Pike St.
601. [601]	Frank O. Eldridge.	San Francisco.	Pd.
602. [602]	J. G. Gould.		
603. [603]	Daniel Okeson.	Sansome & L. Wharf.	cor. Pike & Clay Sts.
604. [604]	Jacob E. Fuller	over T. K. Battelles, Montgomery St. (same).	
605. [605]	Joseph Eyre.	at Haven & Co.	
606. [606]	Silvanus D. Libby.	Pacific St. Wharf.	
607. [607]	D. H. Rand.	Bunker Hill House.	
608. [608]	M. C. Dow.	Long Wharf.	Nevada House.
609. [609]	C. F. Parker.	Mason St.	North Beach.
610. [610]	H. H. Ellis.	Marster John Dunlap. x x x	San Francisco.

611. [611]	Matth. Harth.	Montgom. St., 275. x x x	San Francisco.
612. [612]	Johann Neeb.	California.	Brewery.
613. [613]	Burlin Brown.	Bank Exchange.	
614. [614]	A. J. Cornell.	Rear Brown's Hotel, Kearny St.	
615. [615]	Joseph C. Coult.		Sacramento, above pike St.
616. [616]	Herman Wohler.		Sansome.[9]
617. [617]	Augt. G. Richardson.	Adam & Co. Expra.	
618. [618]	Thomas Goin.	San Francisco.	foot Sacramento St.
619. [619]	Charles H. Davis.	Adams & Co.	
620. [620]	Reuben Calhoun.	Pacific St. Wharf.	Rasette.
621. [621]	Samuel H. Dearborn.	at Eagans	Sacramento St.
622. [622]	Sam Taylor.	California St.	California St.
623. [623]	D. A. McDermut.	Alta California.	do.
[21]			
No.	Name.	Place of Bussines.	Residence.

624. [624]	Geo. W. Virgin.	Long Wharf.	San Francisco.
625. [625]	T. C. Kilborn.	Washington place.	San Francisco.
626. [626]	Alfred A. Rhoades.	Cal. Exchange.	
627. [627]	Edward S. Moorhead.	J. W. Raymond office. x x x	San Francisco.
628.	x x x	x x x	x x x
629. [629]	Samuel W. Moore.	Cala., cor. Montg. St.	San Francisco.
630. [630]	John C. Bennett.	San Francisco.	Brig Chs. J. Dow.
631. [631]	C. Bohrer.	San Francisco.	Webb Street.
632. [632]	C. H. McLellan.	San Fresno.	San Franca.
633. [633]	Chas. G. Scott.	San Francisco.	Powell . . .
634. [634]	E. S. Deane.	cor. of Mont. & Summer sta.	
635. [635]	John E. Gillespie.	on board of Ship Adirondack.	
636. [636]	David C. Mitchell.	Ship Brutus, under Telegraph Hill.	
637. [637]	Isaac Wormser.	California St.	above Siblya.
638. [638]	E. R. Edwards.	Sac. City.	

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639.	[639]	J. J. Fell[Felt?].	Mumfry's Hotel.	
640.	[640]	James C. Conroy.	Montgomery St.	"
641.	[641]	Jacob J. H. van Bokkelen.	Montgomery St.	between California & Pine, 848, San Francisco.
642.	[642]	John H. Mallett.	Kearney St.	San Francisco.
643.	[643]	Chas Gulliver.	Commercial St.	"
644.	[644]	R. B. Page.	Bush St.	"
645.	[645]	Daniel Kenniff.	Jackson, above Kersey.	
646.	[646]	G. Waters, Jr.	Com. St., San Francisco.	
647.	[647]	D. W. Lockwood.	Eureka Hotel.	
648.	[648]	J[?]. D. Dodge.	Stockton St., north of Clay.	
649.	[649]	Nelz[s]on Pierce.	Am. Schr. L. B . . .	San. Franco.
650.	[650]	Edw. L. Williams.	Monterey.	11 Jackson St., San F.
651.	[651]	Wm. Broadhurst.	Clay St.	Baron & Archer, Clay St.
652.	[652]	Wm. L. Ryckman.	Commercial St.	New World Hotel.
653.	[653]	G. P. Kingsley.	Branch Hotel.	Montgomery st.

654. [654]	J. Stoneacre Ellis.	Schr. Honolulu.	Central Wharf.
655. [655]	E. Kingsbury.	San Francisco.	Dupont & Stockton. Washington St., between
656. [656]	Geo. Stealey.	Market St. Bond ^d Warehouse.	San Francisco.
657. [657]	Benj. B. Gore.	California St.	do.
658. [658]	E. Thebaud.	Taylor, Greenwich.	do.
659. [659]	R. H. Elam.	Jackson St., near Sansome.	do.
[22]			
No.	Name.	Place of Business.	Residence.
660. [660]	R. J. Jenkins.	California Exchange.	San Francisco.
661. [661]	O. Woods.	Steinbergers Market, Long Wharf.	
662. [662]	Danl. Cronin.	Montgomery St.	275 Montgomery St.
663. [663]	John Parrott.	Montgomery & Sacramento.	
664. [664]	George Laidly.	Steamer Goliah.	
665. [665]	Jacob R. Snyder.	Montgomery St.	North Beach.
666. [666]	Frederick Morton.	Long Wharf.	San Francisco.

		Centre Costa.	Centre Costa.
667. [667]	A. Moon.		
668. [668]	Geo. W. White.	Pacific Star office.	
669. [669]	Jacob Weber.	Montgomery St., cr. of Clay.	Montgomery St. }
x x x	x x x		San Francisco. }
671. [671]	James M. Classen.	Montgomery, near Clay.	Montgomery, near Clay.
672. [672]	David C. Wood.	Brig Emily Bourne.	San Francisco.
673. [673]	Milo Calkin.		
674. [674]	Samuel Gourley.	California Exchange.	
675. [675]	Simon Fraser Blunt.	U. S. Navy.	San Francisco, Cal.
676. [676]	L. Maynard.	U. S. Navy.	" "
677. [677]	Jas. Zurcher.	Battery, nr. Pacific.	San Francisco.
678. [678]	James Doherty.		
679. [679]	D. W. Chauncey.	Stone St., n. W[ash]ing[on].	
680. [680]	Sam. Bradstreet.	Sansome St.	
681. [681]	Ferdinand Vassault.	San Francisco.	Front & Pacific Sts.

[blank]

682.	[682]	A. Van Horne Ellis.	Martinez.[?]	Schr. Honolulu.
683.	[683]	Henry Owner.	Hoff & Owner.	Davis & Sacramento.
684.	[684]	James B. Campbell.	Jack & Blake.	
685.	[685]	S. W. Naghel.	Mallory & Stewart.	Ship Clarendon, L. W.
686.	[686]	Chas. Hutchins.	Battery Str. between Wash'ton & Clay Sts.	
687.	[687]	Henry M. Lewis.		31 Clay Street.
688.	[688]	H. B. White.	Washington, ab. Dupont.	Washington St.
689.	[689]	Joseph E. Sweetser.	cor. Pacific & Battery St.	Montgomery St.
690.	[690]	Asa D. Nudd.	Battery Street.	Mellus St.
691.	[691]	W. T. Reynolds.	Pacific Wharf.	
692.	[692]	Jas. C. George.	Jackson St. wf.	Jackson St. wf.
693.	[693]	James M. Reed.	do. do.	do. do. do.
694.	[694]	Alex. H. Bryant.	do. do.	do. do.
[23]				
No.		Name.	Place of Business.	Residence.

696. [696]	Nicholas A. Knox.	Gourlie[?] & Co., cor. Sansome. Washington Street	Dupont.
696. [696]	R. Rust.	Montgomery St.	Plank Road.
697. [697] Sept.	S. Strawbridge.	California St.	Burling & California. Hill, Halem.
698. [698]	W. B. Perry.	Sept. 1st. Eng. . . . Goliah	Long Warf.
699. [699]	S. P. Whitman.	Dupont St., between Clay & Sacramento St.	
700. [700]	Thos. W. Carroll.	Sacramento st. Wharf.	San Francisco.
701. [701]	James Wright.	Corner Pine & Battery.	Winter & Latimer.
702. [702]	H. E. Lagus.	Jackson St.	Jackson St.
703. [703]	L. W. Skinner.	Jackson St.	Jackson St.
704. [704]	Geo. H. Bouton.	Sansome St.	California St.
705. [705]	Henry Randall.	Steamer Northerner.	
706. [706]	A. C. Wakeman.	Pleasant Valley, over James King of Wm.	
707. [707]	R. S. Dorr.	Happy Valley.	Happy Valley, Battery St.
708. [708]	Wm. H. Patten.	California St.	California St.

710. [710]	John R. Dungleison.	Surveyor General's Office.	San Francisco.
711. [711]	Wm. MacMichael.	Macondry & Co.	Sholafield Ra[n]cho.
712. [712]	Edwd. Conner.	Office, Alta California.	Broadway & Montgomery St.
713. [713]	Chas. A. Oren.	Sacramento Exchange.	Montgomery Street.
714. [717]	Chas. S. Eigenbrodt.	Jackson Street.	Foot Jackson Street.
715. [715]	Thos. D. Greene.	Battelle's, Montgomery St.	
716. [716]	J. B. G. Isham.	San Francisco.	Colchester, Com.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and dates, which appears to be a table of contents or a list of references. The names are written in a cursive script, and the dates are in a standard font. The list is organized into two columns, with names on the left and dates on the right.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SIGNERS.

NOTE—The numbers accompanying the names in the following list refer to those under which the members signed the constitution of the Committee of Vigilance, and are intended to serve as indices to that document. When the number that was used for purposes of identification (see note on page 8) differs from that under which the member signed the constitution, the former is supplied in italics and within brackets.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Ackley, John T. 276 | Blood, Joseph Harris 370 |
| Alford, S. M. 435 | Blunt, Simon Fraser 675 |
| Almy, Andrew J. 362 | Bluxome, Isaac, Jr. 71[67] |
| Annan, William C. 436 | Bluxome, John 406 |
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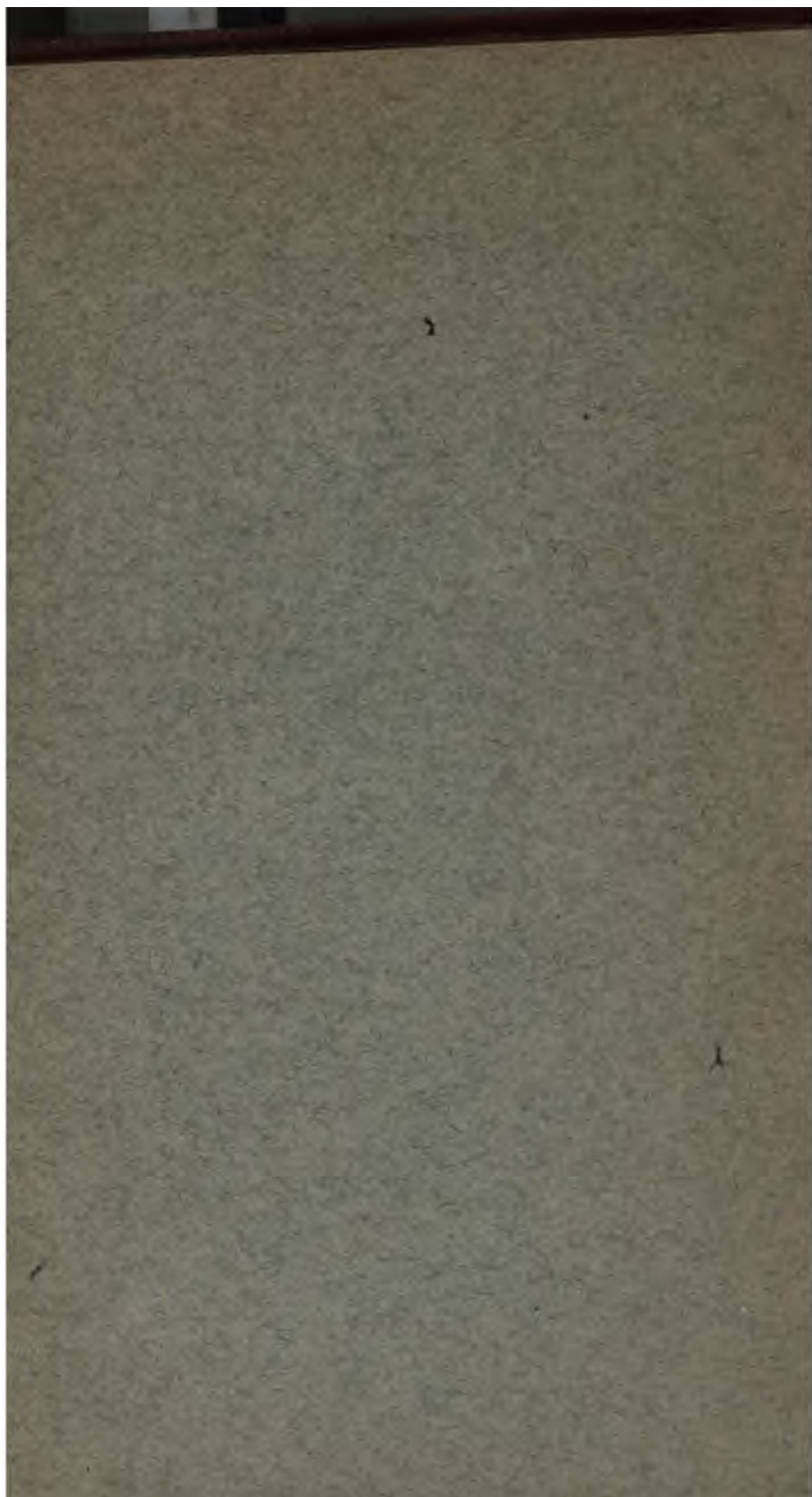
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